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(38)

A RESIDENCE

AT

NAGASAKI AND HAKODATE

IN 1859–1860.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF JAPAN GENERALLY.

BY C. PEMBERTON HODGSON,

LATE H.B.M. CONSUL AT THOSE PORTS.

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WITH

A SERIES OF LETTERS ON JAPAN,

BY HIS WIFE.

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LONDON:

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1861.

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Dedicated

TO

SIR WILLIAM HOOKER

BY

HIS OBEDIENT SERVANT

C. P. HODGSON.

PREFACE.

I HAVE endeavoured, in the following pages, to present to the reader a faithful picture of what I myself saw, and what I learnt, of Japan during my residence at Hakodate, as Consul of Her Britannic Majesty. The facts I have here stated may be relied upon, for I had, by virtue of my office, many opportunities of acquiring information denied to others. I might have extended my narrative by relating many things told me on doubtful authority, for the difficulty in obtaining correct information is great; but, doubtless, as our international intercourse becomes more intimate, much of the jealousy now exhibited towards us will, it is hoped, pass away, and we shall understand this interesting people better.

A great point has, I think, been already achieved,—we have succeeded in maintaining our

ground in Japan; and this victory is the more important, since it has been accomplished by moral force alone, for the foreign population, exclusive of Chinese, does not amount to 600.

Since this work was written, many and grave events have occurred in Japan, but none such as are likely to interrupt our friendly relation with this people; and our Treaty may now be expected to open up to us a most important trade, with a people hitherto scarcely known to us, and now only very superficially.

It appears that Mr. Alcock, Her Majesty's Consul in Japan, has succeeded in making the overland journey, without molestation, from Nagasaki to Kanagawa,—a fact of great importance, as the Japanese hitherto have regarded with great jealousy every approach of foreigners to become acquainted with the interior. May the international relations thus happily commenced, tend to the best and highest interests of the two countries!

The mineral wealth of Japan is indeed exuberantly rich; gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron mines are there. The forest trees are magnificent, her giant oaks capable of providing material for

fleets. Then her silk and her tea will soon equal those of China.

I cannot close these remarks, without recording my lively sense of kindness received by me from this friendly people. The impression they made upon me will long remain with pleasure on my mind.

C. PEMBERTON HODGSON.

Oct. 1861.

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INTRODUCTION.

HAVING visited all the open ports in Japan, and having resided at each some time, not long enough indeed to have learnt, except very superficially, the manners and customs of our new friends, with, nevertheless, as fair an opportunity as most others of judging them, I will venture to give a short sketch of these interesting Islands, and try to prove that they have been the gainers by our new Treaties. If you take up the map of Europe, and regard for a moment the British Isles, the Channel, and the continent of Europe, and then turn to the map of China and Japan, is there nothing peculiarly striking? You exclaim, "One is to the far East, the other to the far West; that is all I see." Is not, then, the geographical position, the geological, eminently interesting? What! volcanoes for coal-fields! The Atlantic and North Seas wash the one, the Pacific and Japan Seas bound the other. The latitudes of Great Britain are higher, but yet occupy nearly the same amount of degrees. The ports of the British Isles are not naturally more magnificent or safer than the recently surveyed harbours of Japan. Nagasaki for Cork. "Absurd!" some may say. Hiogo and Osaka for Falmouth and Plymouth; Simoda, Enora, Heda, Tago, for Portsmouth, Southampton, and the South; Kanagawa for the capital; and then last, not least, the bay of Hakodate, described by the Americans and others as one of the finest harbours in the world for accessibility and safety. Remem-

ber also that these ports have not had the millions bestowed on their improvement which British harbours have had wasted on theirs.

The adjacent continent of Asia has, by traditional report, for many centuries witnessed the same scenes of continuous conflict as those which reddened the soils of France and England with the chivalrous blood of their warriors. Tartars, Moguls, Coreans *v.* Japanese; Norman, Frank, and Gascon *v.* England. Nearer home we have read of the almost civil wars between England and Ireland, repeated between the Coreans and Japanese; and, if for nearly 300 years these external forages had ceased, we hear of internal wars which the feudal lords or "Daimios" have been continually waging against their Imperial Sovereign, the Tycoon or Siegoon, as it was written. Whenever one prince felt himself strong enough to aim at independence, either alone, or supported by other kindred spirits, the scenes we read of in the middle ages of our own history were re-acted.

The Japanese Islands are both warmer and colder than the British Isles. At Nagasaki the thermometer in August and September reaches 96 deg. in the shade. At Hakodate, during December, January, February, it has been observed as low as 18 deg. below zero. When we take into consideration that Hakodate is lat. 41 deg. 40 sec. N., or about parallel with Naples, we may be surprised at this variation, and still more so when the result of observations, taken in 1859, makes the summer of Hakodate correspond very nearly with the summer of Edinburgh, which is in lat. 55 deg. 57 sec., or more than 14 deg. to the northward of Hakodate. The only explanation to be offered for this unnatural eccentricity of climate and atmosphere is, that the prevailing winds during the seven cold months are from the N., N.N.W., and chiefly N.W.; that they pass over the eternal ice-fields of Siberia and the

mainland of Tartary and Mantchouria; that they have but a narrow sea to cross, not sufficiently broad to modify their temperature, and are charged with storms of snow, and so burst with undiminished severity and violence on the devoted peaks which encircle Hakodate. In the few milder months, during which the wind is southerly, E. S. E., generally S. E. during parts of May, June, July, and August, the scene is changed; the snow disappears towards the beginning of April, and rain, brought up from the great Pacific, is incessantly pouring,—not showers, but almost tropical volumes, on the newly snow-denuded earth.

Hakodate is not healthy, therefore. Colds, blindness, cutaneous eruptions, catarrh, fevers, and other natural maladies, caused perhaps by the one universal diet (fish, rice, and vegetables), are common. It is said that longevity is frequent. I have met with persons of both sexes who appeared to have well passed the "three-score years and ten." I have no observations of Yedo, Kanagawa, or Youkahama; but from trustworthy accounts, with the exception of the low and damp position of the sites occupied by the foreigners, (which will, I fear, sooner or later be felt,) the climate around is, I am assured, salubrious. Of Nagasaki my observations are limited, but accurate, extending over the three hottest months of the year. The thermometer ranged, from June 13 to September 13, 1859, from 70 deg. (coldest) to 96 deg. (greatest heat) in the shade; and what made this heat the more unbearable was, that the nights were as oppressive as the days, and the water was generally bad. During those three months there were twenty-four days of continued rain, real torrents, never ceasing, ever pouring. These rains were most incessant from June 24 to nearly the end of July, and the damp exhalations from the saturated and steaming earth made it really, at times, a very vapour-bath. Every breath of wind

was greeted with fond embraces, and all that art could invent to seduce or increase it eagerly employed. The S. W. breeze would glide gently up the lovely bay, and then, but then only, could one for a moment admit the beauty of the harbour.

I speak only of the summer months; during the other nine months it may be Paradise, for, certainly, Nature has wonderfully done her work—few eyes are tired by gazing on the panorama even in the summer months. What, then, when the camellia, the rhododendron, and all the blossoms of the fruit-trees—orange, peach, plum, cherry, pear, citron, and lime,—are present in profusion to gladden sense and sight! Even the snake, the centipedes, and other noxious curiosities are for a while forgotten, although they are most numerous, especially in the sacred precincts of temples, and found in bed-rooms, bath-rooms, boots, shoes, clothes, and really everywhere where their presence is least expected or desired.

At Nagasaki there is more disease than at Hakodate. In addition to those of Hakodate, which are more or less prevalent at Nagasaki also, I will mention only cholera and typhus fever, which are often virulent. At Hakodate the best of water is plentiful; at Nagasaki the best is bad.

Of the southern portion of Kiusiu little more is at present known by us than what Kæmpfer and Von Siebold have recorded. The Prince of Kagosima is an important "Daimio," but it is yet not satisfactorily determined whether he be or be not also the feudal lord of the Lew-chew Isles. Doctors differ; "et, adhuc sub judice lis est." I do not wish here to argue this point; I only desire to show that Japan, *i.e.* Japan Proper, extends from 31 deg. N. lat., the latitude, approximatively, of Alexandria and Madeira, to 45 deg. 30 sec., or somewhat below Bordeaux, the nearest corresponding latitude in Europe; and thus that nearly all the products of the several countries, raised in the Western hemisphere, might naturally

be expected to be met with in the Japanese Isles. So we find silk, tea, tobacco, sugar, plantains, rice, Indian corn or maize, almonds, grapes, flax and hemp, oranges, and most of our common fruit-trees, wheat, peas, beans, potatoes (sweet and European), common and cheap. I do not speak of the coal, lead, iron, copper, gold, silver, or other mines; but these are also here. The sea produces a superabundance of fish—salmon, salmon trout, turbot, herrings, mackarel, cod, plaice, and even whitebait for the Londoner. The mountains and valleys send forth their bears, deer, cattle, pigs, fowls, ducks, pheasants, grouse, partridges, and wild fowl. What, then, did a nation, a nation which for centuries has been as sealed to us as the mysteries of Cumæ ever were to the uninitiated Romans, require more? Her own islands were sufficient to support her; her own hills, valleys, fields, lakes, rivers, seas, and mountains yielded all she required. What her almost tropical climate could not, her more equable or more frigid latitudes could and did, supply. Her people were happy, or as happy in their ignorance and atheism, as many of us are with our learning, wealth, and Christianity. What if a few princes, owning nominal obedience to one sway, were sometimes exacting and tyrannical! What if money, gold or silver, were indifferent to them: what if costly jewels or rich lace, French and Rhenish wines, were unknown! Were they required? What if their pagodas rang only with the sounds of idolatry and the wild frenzy of fanaticism!—*still* they trod in the steps of their forefathers, and had only learnt from them affection to their soil and to their families and institutions.

We will examine into the case, and discover, if possible, the inestimable boon which has been secured to them by the new Treaties lately made by them with foreigners. The task will doubtless be easy; for the West is so far advanced in all things, —in religion, in honour, in morality, in arts and sciences, in

commerce,—that the Japanese cannot but be vast gainers by the change from isolation to reciprocity of good fellowship with their superiors. We must have so much to teach our newly-discovered friends, that no doubt they will rush into our arms and imbibe all with avidity. We have shown them our fleets, our steamers, our guns (even some Prussian wooden ones—well polished, certainly), our muskets, our revolvers and swords; we have paraded our ambassadors, our officers, our sailors and marines. They have seen the mighty leviathans alongside of their puny junks; they have heard our thunder, and witnessed our parades; but—have they gazed on all this with more awe and curiosity than we have done on examining one of their fabled salamanders, or their gold selling for a third of its value?

For more than five centuries B.C., the present dynasty, *i. e.* the spiritual power, or Mikado, has been in undisputed possession of all its rights and privileges,—of living encaged with a dozen wives, of putting on daily a complete suit of new garments, and maintaining a miraculous silence for and contempt of all the world out of the precincts of the sanctuary of Miako and its Dairi. This dynasty *may* have wanted a successor in a direct line occasionally; in that case the vacuum was supposed to be filled up by a substitute sent from heaven direct, so that the celestial line might never be lost to the Japanese nation. With temporal affairs HE has now nothing to do—although, nominally, official acts of importance should be clothed with his signature—his other and graver occupations leave him no time to descend from heaven to earth. I only mention this great personage, and simply introduce him as the head of the Japanese religion, which is, as in China, Buddhism, with an exceptional dash of their original Sintooism, which existed ages before Buddhism was known. These are the two religions of the people; and many a good time and oft must

the sleek and jolly priests who, with their acolytes, form a by no means inconsiderable portion of the official community to be fed, clothed, and housed by the poor, look down with bowels of compassion on the more than twenty millions of their pious believers, through whom they live and are supported — be it only a "cash" (a cash of iron is the 5320th part of a dollar), it is welcome; for, as many beads make the necklace, so many cash make a "cobang" (the cobang, a gold coin, is equal to four dollars and a third).

I have lived near a temple for sixteen months, and have always remarked that the larger proportion of the visitors consisted of women of all classes, children, and beggars. The men who attended the ceremonies were chiefly merchants (who are despised in Japan, and not even allowed to ride a horse), shopkeepers, and the rabble, and these in no great numbers. It was very rare to see a two-sworded individual, even of the lowest rank, attend at any time, unless at the burial of a friend, or at the celebration of some rite to the memory of a departed hero or sovereign.

The higher officers and the men of learning have their own doctrines, which, I am told, are very exalted, and highly tinctured with lofty philosophy. Whether they are searchers after the truth, or not, I cannot say; but, as religion here is useful as part of the State or Government, it would at present be dangerous to try to introduce Christianity, as the jealous pride of the Government and Daimios would be instantly and unanimously aroused, and all factions would coalesce to crush it before taking root. The very memory of the Jesuits is execrated; yet no person can enter the Buddhist temple without immediately remarking the *débris* of their former power. The aureole round the idol, the tabernacle or "niche" enclosing the "hostie" or "ostensoir," the lighted tapers on the altar, the genuflexions, the hours of prayer, morning, noon, and

evening,—all these remind us of the Roman Catholic religion.

Affection for the dead seems to be a really pious sentiment, and the memory of the departed is respected by frequent offerings and prayers. Through the priests the Government publishes its edicts and directions; therefore they are, temporally as well as spiritually, the enlighteners of the people. That the Roman Catholics were, before their downfall and expulsion, already very numerous, there can be little doubt; but since that expulsion and savage butchery, no other foreign religion has been openly admitted into Japan. Death is the penalty. The Dutch, who admit the share they had in the massacre of the Portuguese at Papenberg, defend the act by the assertion and excuse, "that at that very moment the Jesuits and Roman Catholics were ruthlessly committing all the cruelties and horrors of religious warfare in their own native land, and that they joined the Japanese to exterminate them, moved only by a spirit of vengeance, and a cry for retaliation from their own distant country. The cry was too loud for them, and the opportunity of revenge too easy and tempting not to be taken advantage of." Was this their real reason? Had their dimly-seen monopoly no distant influence on their motives? Since that massacre up to the present day the religion of Japan has undergone no change, and the nation has been happy and contented, if not advancing in science or enlightened by intercourse with mankind. Thus the nation, in its ignorance, we may say, at the signing of the Treaties, had no known reason to wish to alter its religion; it was prospering in its idolatry, and satisfied with its lot. It is not for us to judge the past or the future: let us leave it in the hands of the Omniscient.

For centuries, wrapped up like Mont Blanc in its perpetual snow, or the Fusiyama in its volcanic mysteries, the

empire of Japan, consisting of the four great isles of Niphon, Sikok, Kiusiu, and Yezo, and innumerable minor islets, has enjoyed the privilege of perfect isolation from the rest of the known world. Like all eastern nations, and other more savage lands, the origin of this people is traced to the clouds and chaos; their Chinese derivation is scouted. Before China was, Japan existed; and as a proof of this fact, they appeal to the original religion of the land, a Sintooism, which had been established long before the Christian era, or Buddhism was known. Look at the Chinaman, and then glance at the Japanese. One has imperceptible eyes; the other, intelligent expression. One is lazy, indolent, cowardly, and physically weak. The Japanese is active, muscular, and brave. We read, indeed, of powerful princes invading the Corea, and numerous conflicts betwixt the native Daimios. The Japanese invaded, and for some time possessed, the Corea, and perhaps parts of China; it is a boast, and the origin of their wish to live alone, that the enemies who have invaded their isles have all been repulsed; they declare that, against their consent, no nation can subsist, or has subsisted in Japan. Let us hope our Treaties may be respected as treaties of peace.

The Japanese empire dates from the seventh century before Christ; but even before that period there had been large tribes, probably under nomadic chieftains. Civil wars occurred, and the Emperor, who then, in his sacred person, was king and divinity, appointed great warriors to quiet them; and perhaps their wars were not very bloody. Several men and women made themselves conspicuous in this early Japanese history, and have been deified in consequence; but it was not until the twelfth century, when the ecclesiastical Emperor's "Siegoon," or military commander, Joritomo, usurped the chief civil power, that the spiritual and temporal government became divided.

Since that time the "Siegoon" has been the real sovereign of Japan; the "Mikado" existing only as a political but useful appendage to the civil government.

The Tartars in the thirteenth century vainly endeavoured to take any part of Japan; they made several attempts, and were each time terribly defeated. Japan was not to be taken; and no foreigner should reside on, nor any Japanese leave her shores, on pain of death. Independent Japan, we are now in the nineteenth century!

Civil wars and dissensions more or less disturbed the country until the end of the sixteenth century, and it required all the energy and action of a brave and enlightened man to arrange matters. This man, however, appeared as if raised up for the occasion, and is celebrated all over Japan as our Black Prince, Wallace, Henry V., and Cromwell are in England, for he was a warrior and statesman too. His revered name is Taiko Sama, and from him is lineally descended the present temporal Emperor or Tycoon of Japan.

Marco Polo, who returned to Venice in 1295, was the first European to furnish any account of Japan. The Portuguese, then the most enterprising discoverers and merchants in the world, were however the first, about the middle of the sixteenth century, to establish commercial relations with the Japanese at Nagasaki. We have mentioned their wretched fate, and regret to find that their end merits but little pity, inasmuch as with religion they sowed discord, and with their Christian doctrines inculcated disobedience to the actual sovereign, and while preaching peace and love they were secretly moulding weapons of civil hatred and enmity.

The Dutch, full of enterprise and inspired by love of gain, (for which, if reports are true, they denied everything, even their religion,) succeeded the Portuguese, and carried on a very profitable monopoly with Nagasaki. The indignities

they submitted to in order to maintain their exceptional privileges, are too notorious and public to need recapitulation here. They bore with slavish patience all ignominy, provided their annual quota of ships was duly laden with the one thing required. In fact, a proud and gallant nation at home, cowered, in Japan, to an inferior race, for the sake of a few paltry dollars!

Time, however, flies on. The West is too little for its hardy and adventurous people; India is discovered and occupied; Singapore, China, are opened to commerce; California becomes an American State; and; as Commodore Perry says, the United States were thus "brought closer to Asia." Japan lay directly in the course from California to China, and from its reputed possession of coal it was regarded with much interest by Americans. Coal has made England what she is; may not coal, with the blessing of God, make Japan a mighty nation? The Japanese princes were brave, their mandarins no cowards—their soldiers followed them; their priests prayed for them; the people cultivated their lands, and attended to their commerce and manufactures, in order to supply the necessary sinews of war. There was no groaning, no cry of complaint; it was the will of Heaven that Japan should be happy, and happy alone. Alone, she had peopled her countless islands, and all her miseries had come from abroad; alone she wished to be; and, if we may believe the reports of early writers, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Dutch, and others, Japan was happy in her solitude, and yet had an irresistible charm for all foreigners, who became more and more delighted with the people as they became better acquainted with them. Twenty millions recognized their spiritual and temporal sovereigns. If not too "liberally" governed (as "we" understand "liberal" institutions), we hear of no murmur. If some of their laws were oppressive, or their punishments too

severe and even barbarous, consider how long it is since, with us, horse-stealing was followed by hanging, and apostasy by martyrdom. Probably as Japan was when we were naked savages, Japan is to-day, although men of great research pretend that she has been steadily advancing. But we know little of her ancient history previous to the sixteenth century; its past is like the legends of the Rhine, full of fable and romance, of mighty deeds by men and women. We are almost sure that Japan was never conquered, and that she was ever able to maintain herself in ease, comfort, and comparative opulence. If sometimes internal peace was broken, the fight was between brothers, and not of long or perhaps bloody duration; if their commerce was not extensive, their junks were expressly limited in size, by law, for the sole convenience of their islanders; if they despised foreigners, it was because they had been able to compare the habits, customs, and laws of Corea, China, and the Tartars with their own, and they preferred their own. Since the sixteenth century we know more of Japan, and we can all read its history. What has it gained from the Jesuits, what from the Protestants? A power they can no longer resist, the power of might and mind, has *now* declared Japan to be a part of the civilised world. Such is its present "dayspring." We are no longer the Spaniards of Mexico, the Portuguese of Goa, or the Britons of former India; an honest trade will be met with reciprocal honesty; but Japan is a nation of warriors, and is able to resent, ay, and to punish injustice.

I have endeavoured to prove that the Japanese themselves had no desire to change their religion; I now try to prove that, with the exception of some Tartar engagements, and some few civil wars, they were happy in their constitution, and animated with sufficient patriotism in any common and general cause to be able to defend their own from aggression, and even

chastise intruders. Have the treaties benefited their constitution — have they ameliorated their moral or political economy? We will answer this question shortly.

The Coreans, Tartars, and Chinese were not the only visitors who tried to settle in Japan. In 1540 the Portuguese visited the island of Kiu, and a small trade was opened; St. Francis Xavier followed with his new religion in 1550, and speaks highly of the people, "as the delight of his heart." Some twenty years later, Nagasaki was made the emporium of trade with the Portuguese; and yet, though perhaps one of the most civilised of European nations at this date, they were more anxious about success in their search after gain than in introducing any real improvement. No doubt it would have been a difficult and even dangerous task; but was it even attempted? About 1600, the Dutch first appear on the Japanese waters; their rivalry with the Portuguese in commerce, and perhaps religion, was often the cause of violent animosity, which could not have well disposed the quiet Japanese to admire or imitate them. The Portuguese and Spanish missionaries converted, with success, many thousand natives, and then, fancying themselves stronger than they really were, tried to tamper with their laws and religion. This roused the priests, and awakened the Government to a sense of its danger. The Dutch Protestants magnified their crimes, and encouraged the Japanese in the idea that the Romanists were teaching sedition and heresy. Love could not have been their motive; but they succeeded so well that, in 1637, after numerous martyrs, natives and missionaries, had nobly fallen, an edict came forth, "that the Portuguese were banished for ever from Japan."

Did the Dutch, however, benefit themselves? No: they were despised even for their readiness to assist at the murder of the Christians. They have never enjoyed the same distinctions or privileges which the Portuguese enjoyed, but were

often treated with contempt, if not ignominy and open disrespect. Thus the Japanese had hitherto little reason to bless the arrival of foreigners. The two foreign nations already admitted were jealous of and at enmity with each other. Here, then, there was no good example to imitate, no good lesson to be learned. One introduced a religion which caused ultimately the death of many of their countrymen, and was the cause of serious troubles; the other carried on a questionable commerce, to the real mutual benefit of neither party. About this moment a third nation appeared in the waters of Japan. An Englishman, Captain Saris, brought an autograph letter from our King James I.; he visited the capital and concluded a favourable treaty with Japan, A.D. 1613. This was the first European visit to the capital. But India was too rich, and yielded nearer and surer gain. Little by little our commerce ceased entirely, and when in 1673 it was attempted to revive it, the proposals were rejected, thanks to our Dutch friends, who loved solitude like their hosts. In 1792 the English and Russians tried again, but without success, to open a trade with this people. In 1804 the same two nations again attempted to resume negotiations for a treaty—the same reply and repulse.

In 1811, 1812, 1814, and 1822, successive endeavours were made by English and Russians to establish themselves. The Russian commander Godowin was imprisoned, and no progress was made; but the name of the English was not advanced, nor did their cause gain ground. The "Phaeton," in 1814, disgraced his Majesty's service, and caused the death, by suicide, of several high officers, whose honour had, in their nice judgment, been tarnished, and whose reputation had been disgraced by the wilful disobedience of her commander. Thus far, again, the Japanese had no great reason to love foreigners. The Russians, irritated at their failures, made reprisals on some unprotected

fishing villages in Yezo. The English caused the death of the governor of Nagasaki and some ten other officials. The Americans, in 1797, tried also in vain to demand free trade; and when, in 1837, they re-appeared in the Bay of Yedo, with the philanthropic intention of restoring some shipwrecked Japanese to their country, even then they were repulsed—nay, even fired at; so little desire had the Japanese hermits to be disturbed in their solitude or quiet. Two more attempts, in 1844 and 1848, were made by the English, with still the same want of success. We evidently did not go the right way to work, or we were most cordially detested; for all our experiments ended in disappointment.

The French now appear on the scene, and their first reception in 1846 was courteous. The same year Commodore Biddle, with two American men-of-war, visited Uraga, to request formally the Japanese to open some of their ports to the whalers of the United States frequenting their seas. His request was answered by an edict, through the Dutch, that all foreign business must be done through the Dutch or the Chinese. Even up to 1852 had Japan maintained its bold position of isolated policy. This expedition was actually ordered by the President of the United States; and yet it failed. Two years later the faint "No" was to become a weaker "Yes." The Portuguese had been expelled; the English, Russians, French, and Americans were each in their turn repulsed. True, no force had been used: persuasion, reiterated endeavours, presents, promises, and all the moral power of five of the greatest countries in the world, had tried to move the Japanese empire in vain. She was deaf, or would not hear; and she preferred her happy existence and present state to all the tempting baits held out by unknown wanderers. She was "content to bear those ills she had, and fly from others that she knew not of."

But there is a Providence above who ordereth all things.

He saw the time was come, perhaps, to gather all His sheep into one fold; and He put a word into the minds of our rulers, and so it came to pass.

We cannot honour the Portuguese privileges with the denomination or consequence of a treaty; nor can the miserable existence and career of the Dutch at Firando and Decima be deemed worthy of such a title. Captain Saris, on his visit to Yedo, obtained perhaps the nearest approach to establishing an honourable and reciprocal intercourse; but *palmam qui meruit ferat*,—it is to Mr. Fillmore, President of the United States, and Commodore Perry, to whom belong the distinction and responsibility of having opened Japan to the five great Western powers. On March 31, 1854, was signed, at Kanagawa, the first treaty of Japan: each successive power may have improved a little on the original text, but the important basis is American. Admiral Stirling, in 1855, obtained the same privileges, it is true; but the pathway had been trodden down and the way opened.

We all know the immediate rush which the other great powers made on the immolated victim; how, with eagle eye, they saw their prey afar off, and how each bettered the other by fresh demands. A destructive volcanic eruption, a decimating cholera at Yedo, and the death of an emperor, sealed and consecrated the Treaties. This was enough to make even Europeans tremble. What, then, must have been the effect on the for-centuries-closed Japan and her people? Stupor, awe, and a confirmed conviction that her gods disapproved of the Treaties. And yet, in 1859, when the ports of Kanagawa, Hakodate, and Nagasaki were opened, what did we find?—the Treaties had been made, and they would be recognised and held sacred. True, it was too late to recede. Force—such a force as the simple Japanese cannot even yet imagine—might have compelled them; but who would have been bold

enough to strike the first blow? All Christendom would have execrated the monster and his nation.

The ports were opened, and preparations were made for the reception of the expected but undesired guests. In their ignorance of foreigners, they knew not what to expect; they had all to learn, and their lesson, I fear, has been a rude one. I arrived in June at Nagasaki, and was appointed by Mr. Alcock her Majesty's officiating Consul. My first news was, that even then the laws of Japan had been violated in one of its most sacred and severe ordinances. A Frenchman had carried to China a Japanese mistress. Here was the beginning; these were Japan's new friends, who pledged themselves to the observance of peace and amity, and to respect Japanese laws. All was new to Japan. We, that is, our foreign community, most of them unscrupulous specimens of all the nations they claimed the protection of, wished and expected to find money exchanged as at Paris, custom-houses as well organised as at London, ships as soon and as richly freighted as at New York or Liverpool. Patience was no word in the vocabulary of the new-comers. Insults, threats, words of doubtful celebrity, met the quiet and wonder-struck Japanese as often as they endeavoured to pacify their indignant guests.

When too much was exacted, and while the attempted means of exaction were tried ineffectually, then the Japanese pride, not to be curbed by the presence of men-of-war representing all the flags of the favoured nations, was aroused, and complete stagnation of business ensued. Blame not the Japanese: the foreign community are alone to blame. No standard of exchange had been previously arranged; all the moneys of the foreigners were new to the Japanese. There is but one power in Japan to settle these matters, and that power is at Yedo. The currency question was referred to that capital, and by the energy, tact, and patience of our minister, aided by

his colleagues, was at last on the point of being satisfactorily arranged.

What then? Merchants, or men calling themselves so, owning only some thousand dollars, put down applications for millions, under the gentlemanly names of "Nonsense," "Snooks," "Jack Ketch," "Walker," "Brown," "Jones," and "Robinson." Our minister nobly and instantly branded this outrage on the delicacy and respect due to the panic-struck officials with the epithets such ignoble conduct justly merited. Yet these were the men whom the unknown millions of Japan were to receive and welcome! They asked from the treasury of Kanagawa, on the 2nd Nov. 1859, only four months after the opening of the port, exchange in itzabous for 1,200,666,778,244,601,066,953 dollars!!! Was this fair, was it honourable, was this the way to win them over?—to wring out of them a Treaty, and then insult them in their own treasury and in the presence of their officials? Mockery has its limits, even where ignorance is speechless; patience and good breeding may support, but cannot pardon, ridicule and coarseness. Can they like or respect such specimens of their new friends?

What followed? No mint could meet such exorbitant demands. Paris, London, New York, all the capitals united, could not have supplied these exigencies. Exchange was stopped — then trade; then idleness on the part of the foreigners. On the part of the Japanese, one feeling predominated and still predominates—a regret that they conceded a Treaty to the Americans, a bitter repentance of the signatures of 1854, which the voice of their gods told them plainly was the death-warrant of their former bliss and contentment. The Japanese have gained nothing. They have sold gold at 100 per cent. profit to the foreigner — they have received a few presents; but they are sick of us, and view with wonder

no more our fleets, our arms, or ourselves. They may have bought a few yards of flannel, a few bales of Manchester goods, a few toys; in exchange they have offered us, at indescribable profit, nearly all they have to offer. So punctilious were they in carrying out the Treaties, so ready are we to profit by their generosity and abuse their confidence!

They have been insulted; they have revenged themselves. Blood has reddened the Japanese sword, and yet we, unmindful of the provocation, already cry for vengeance. We are the lambs, the Japanese the butchers. Believe it not, my friends in England and France! The Japanese are a race worthy of our esteem and affection. The foreigners they have to meet with have disappointed and wounded them in their pride, their sensibility, their institutions, their habits, their hopes, and their desires. Let England and France pause, before ordering one gun to be fired on a Japanese! Passion may be difficult to control, but history will not be the less severe.

I have now attempted to prove that Japan has gained nothing, politically, socially, or morally, from the Treaties with foreigners. Let those examine who doubt or disagree with me —and tell me where have you seen the social benefits conferred by us on Japan? As merchants we have our end before us, and with patience, time, and honour, we may succeed; but as Christians, what have we *not* to do? This is a task which Heaven imposed on us when the "Little Lee" steamed into Yedo with the present of Queen Victoria. Commerce must come, commerce will come; but if the products of this land are to be obtained only by blood and treachery, what good have we done it?

The future of Japan is yet before us, but all who look can see but one crisis. The Japanese are proud, brave, and courteous; they have been wantonly insulted in their pride,

tempted too often to show their courage, and, moreover, often treated with contempt by their inferiors, both in manner and respectability. More than half Japan (nearly all the Daimios and nobles) were and are opposed to the Treaties. They are ever at hand to press the Government to expel the hated stranger from their shores. They are said to direct the murders which have taken place at Yukohama, in order that the foreigner may attempt revenge and demand redress from the Government, and then — let me not think of it! — either Japan ceases to exist, or the Treaties will be waste paper.

A RESIDENCE

AT

NAGASAKI AND HAKODATE.

CHAPTER I.

NAGASAKI.

In the following notice of Nagasaki I do not intend venturing on Japan in general. My stay there was only three months, and during the whole time I was much occupied. I prefer delaying my description of Japanese manners and customs until I have reached Hakodate, where I resided somewhat more than a year, and had therefore gained more experience, and more knowledge of my friends.

On the 18th June, 1859, I was appointed Officiating Consul at Nagasaki, and had the privilege of hoisting the first British Jack in Japan on that day. Her Majesty's ship "Sampson" left on the 20th June, for Kanagowa and Yedo, and my work consequently began. Indeed, on the 17th and 18th, I had already tasted the sweets of

office, for I had been honoured by the visit of three government officers and an interpreter each day. I will give a specimen of a three hours' conference with these gentlemen.

On their arrival at the outer gate of the Consulate, the chief officers sent in the interpreter and a subordinate, to request an interview. This is of course accorded, even if in the middle of dinner. The staffs and pikes of state were then left outside, piled against the wall or roof of the outer porch, and the magnates entered, walking erect and solemnly to the steps of the inner portico, where they are met either by the Consul or his assistant. Here the one-sworded servant came up, and relieved his master of his shoes, replacing them by clean and dry sandals, taking off and unbuttoning his paper oiled and waterproof cloak, and hat, if it has been raining, and taking charge of his umbrella. Then commenced a series of bows, and the interpreter, in the name of the officials, wished us good morning, or good evening, "Ohĭŏ," "how do you do?" to which we replied by hoping that the walk had not much tired them, and requesting them to come in. The long sword was then taken from the silken belt, in token of compliment and respect, and carried in the hand to the reception-room, when it was carefully placed either on a chair or sofa, or against some safe and solid piece of furniture, so that no harm may happen to it, for

these swords * are precious heirlooms, and treasured as such.

Invited to sit down, it is proper to place the officials on your left-hand side, that being the place of honour, and you may safely leave it to themselves to decide upon the place each ought to take; as there is an etiquette, which, though it was almost imperceptible to us at first, we were not long in finding out to be most stringent and severe; and an officer of almost the same apparent rank, and whom we supposed generally to be of equal rank, would quietly, and without the least hesitation, naturally take up his proper position.

There are always three officers. The first, who is charged with the object of the mission, and is to be the speaker on the occasion, takes the first seat. The second, who acts as a kind of referee and witness, puts in a word at intervals, either as a reminder or adviser. The third is almost as important a person as the chief emissary, being the Government spy †, whose duty it is to take

* Officers have generally three kinds of swords; one pair for ordinary work, a second pair for semi-official visits, and a third pair, which descends in the family, of exquisite temper and often beautifully mounted with gold and other ornaments; these are for state occasions only.

† This government spy is not a spy in our sense of the word. It is a very honourable position. The governor of Nagasaki was, I believe, a spy. The governor of Hakodate, my old friend, Tchūdă Ominō Kāmī, was certainly a spy. It would seem that a good spy, therefore, generally mounted to the top of the ladder,

notes, and even write down, if he prefers it, every word spoken on either side. He has a book for this purpose, and if he disapproves of anything the chief officer has said, he takes from his belt his inkstand and pen, and scribbles it down. Therefore the speaker is in constant fear lest he should commit himself, for every word thus written down is entered into a government book, called the "Day Book," and forwarded to Yedo.

The conference being opened, there was silence: when a bulky silk portfolio * was leisurely drawn from the capacious sash or bosom, and a "paper" produced. This document contains the heads of the subjects to be treated on, the opposition to be made or expected, and the terms to be granted or refused. The officials cannot, and dare not, go beyond the tenor of these memoranda; in fact, it would be disgrace and imprisonment (as it came, more than once, to my personal knowledge),

and became a governor. The Japanese name for this official is "Omētskĕ." There are spies everywhere, in every government establishment, in every office, in every tavern, and, I believe, in every house; and this may account for their quiet and silent behaviour, for each is afraid, perhaps, that the other may denounce too liberal opinions.

* Every one carries in his bosom a little or large book, according to rank and circumstances, in which his papers are tied up. This book also is used as a medicine-chest, chop-stick holder, and pocket-handkerchief-holder, for you must know the Japanese, from the highest to the lowest, use their thin soft paper as pocket-handkerchiefs; it is besides full of innumerable little things, pencils, compass, calendar, &c.

or even worse, for them to grant an iota of concession beyond what was in their written instructions and ultimatums.

Pipes were then produced, a light was struck, and so thrown on the object of the mission. No. 1, directing himself to the interpreter *, whom I have forgotten to introduce formally, gave him a general outline of the first article in question; the Japanese interpreter translated, in his own head first, and then to the Dutch interpreter attached to the Consulate, No. 1's speech. The British interpreter had, in his turn, to translate for the benefit of the Consul, and to put into good intelligible English, its purport, and on receiving a reply, the same manœuvre was executed; but the question and answer passed often through so many phases and mutilations, that before a faithful reply could really reach its destination, pure and undefiled, it required innumerable repetitions.

* At Nagasaki we found quite a college of interpreters—Dutch, Chinese, and English. These interpreters are all officers and very pleasant, well-educated, gentlemanly fellows. The title is hereditary in the family; and many are descendants of interpreters who lived perhaps in the days of Capt. Saris. They have a very difficult part to play; sometimes they dare not speak out freely what the Consul may have requested them to say; sometimes they may not well have seized upon his meaning; sometimes they are at a loss to explain a phrase properly; and then the patience they require! If not obliged to sit or kneel, they must stand all the time. But they are always so obliging and willing to help. I shall never forget my kind friends the English interpreters of Hakodate and Nagasaki.

During this time our friend "Omētskĕ" was sipping his tea or sherry *, and looking into his pipe —but not losing one word of what was going on; the second officer had his head on one side, if not engaged as above, and was trying to discover what the Consul's answer could mean; the two interpreters were anxiously waiting for a further interchange of dialogue, and No. 1 was meditating a fresh attack.

Thus the debate went on, sometimes waxing warm, up to fever point; then cooling; now a concession—now a promise to speak to the Bōunĭgo †, and, last of all, after a three or four hours' hard talk, a regret; that the whole question must be referred to Yedo, as all is so new and different to what has been; that the governor dare not—Yedo alone can—the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the foreign authorities will, easily arrange all. We will call again to-morrow—we will do our best; and so we part, and hard work it has been.‡

* Pipes or cigars, tea, sherry and cakes, were always offered our visitors, until it became so expensive, that tea alone was offered, unless to the governor or vice-governor. Whenever we visited the governor (feast days excepted) "saki" tea, cake and pipes were placed before us, and I always found more business could be done at a jovial meeting than at a solemn tea-party. If we visited the custom-house authorities the tea and castera were always offered.

† Bōgnio or bōunĭgo, is the name in Japan for the "governor."

‡ We always began and ended our conversations with some few

But they kept their word: they did come on the morrow; and the same scene was repeated with generally the same success, or rather want of it. Not that I impute their unwillingness to meet our new views to a wilful desire to annoy us, or a stubborn intention of tampering with us. I fully believe that, at Nagasaki, in June, July, and August, 1859, there was an under-current of good feeling towards foreigners, and a desire to carry out the Treaty in good faith; but the government and its officials were totally unprepared for such a sudden display of wealth, and such a demand for merchandise as came in so suddenly upon them. They had only been accustomed to the insignificant monopoly of Holland, who, naturally, would not help us too zealously. But, when they saw the united resources of Great Britain, Russia, and America, then, without being awed by the outward demonstration of physical and scientific power, which at once appeared to enforce perhaps, if necessary, a ratification of their respective treaties; without imagining or for a moment dreading that a severe retaliation might be the consequence of any infringement of its articles, the local government

exchanges of civility and friendship, even if we were to battle or have battled long and hard. The Japanese are difficult to move or excite; but, once known, are kind friends and good companions. On duty they are severe, and ever to their point.

of Nagasaki was paralyzed at the enormous demand and unexpected drain on its home consumption and resources, and was unprepared, even with advices and instructions from the capital, to meet such a huge commercial catastrophe.

On his arrival at Nagasaki Mr. Alcock "found fifteen square-rigged vessels in the harbour." * For two hundred years previously two Dutch ships and two Chinese junks had been the only annual visitors allowed to trade with Japan; but Mr. Alcock continues †: "fifteen thousand tons of shipping appear to have found profitable employment here within the last six months." The British traded here, having already taken advantage of the favoured-nation clause of Admiral Stirling's Treaty of 1855: the Americans and Dutch also had their merchantmen in the port. Japan had hitherto been a self-supporting country, but here was a sudden drain on her resources! here a colossal demand upon the internal produce of a state scarcely opened to trade! Fifteen thousand tons of shipping already supplied, and the harbour still swarming with greedy vultures, waiting to bear off for ever the exuberance of her poverty or wealth!

The Japanese in their families are affectionate

* Mr. Alcock's Despatch, No. 1, 1859, to the Earl of Malmesbury.

† Idem.

and careful; the Japanese government in its dealings towards its subjects is terribly severe, but truly patriarchal and thoughtful. The six months' drain on Nagasaki had been officially reported to the capital; the provident and intelligent ministers there heard of it with anxiety; it was more than they had expected; it must be stopped quietly, so as not to insult the foreigner; but surely not to ruin the poor of the country. Silk, tea, wheat and rice (though forbidden, yet exported in quantities), wax, oil, peas, and the other products of Kiūsiū, were never known to be so dear; the people would attribute the rise in prices to the advent of the stranger, and troubles might arise in consequence; we have shown all the nations, with whom we have treaties, that our intention is to observe them. If they are our friends and not our bloodsuckers, they will abide patiently our future crops; they will go to Kanagowa and fill their mighty leviathans, and we will, throughout the length and breadth of our island, persuade our peasantry to sow and cultivate their acres, and redouble their industry against their return.

Might not such have been the feelings which actuated the governor and officials of Nagasaki during our first few months' intercourse with them? I do not say that they were; but I remember it was a trying time. My countrymen

too justly crying out for aid, and bitterly complaining of their disappointment and losses, which were, unfortunately, easy to reckon; the Japanese always harping on delays, desirous of all that was fair and yet doing nothing. I think, nay, I feel persuaded, that the sudden and enormous drain on their home consumption terrified this patriarchal government, and caused them, in shortsightedness perhaps, to adopt precautions, which, without alleviating the evil at home, embittered the foreigners against it. The dread of a famine was before them, the clamour for merchandise was in their rear. It was currently reported, and I believe there can be no question about it, that the Governor personally, the Treasury officers, and in fact the whole government staff, were the merchants of Nagasaki, or rather brokers, for the title of "merchant" would shock a Japanese official.

Before my arrival I know such was the case, for I afterwards saw agreements and contracts between our merchants and the Treasury (many of which, by the by, these government brokers repudiated, if the price of the article covenanted for had risen since the signature of the contract); but I must confess that I never heard of their not fulfilling their agreements when the value had depreciated.

Clever merchants in Japan, clever diplomatists too! they beat us in the field and on the mart,

though not originally educated for either profession.

During the reign of the Dutch in their bridged isle of Desima *, history informs us that the quantity of merchandise bartered, export against import, was very precisely known. We may also infer that the articles taken from this "tight little island" were not always of a nutritious character or nature, or, even supposing for a moment such to have been the case, that the quantity was not of such an unlimited extent as to create despair in the minds of the Japanese authorities; but, 15,000 tons of shipping to be supplied profitably within six months, and sharks innumerable hovering about in the bay, — this aroused the provident Kiusiote to a sense of danger and reflection.

If, says the Bōugniō to himself, the foreigner requires so much, I do not see why I should not have a finger in the pie. Orders were probably therefore issued (so that the Treaty might not be said to be violated) that "foreigners may freely buy from the Japanese;" but for the better security of his government and the protection of his people, it may have been at the same time intimated *sub rosâ*, that it would be more convenient to the public service, if all contracts entered into by private individuals were submitted to the Governor for approval and acceptance,

* M.S. "Daybook" Nagasakiensis.

so that His Excellency might, in his providential care, receive the articles contracted for at half their value, take the full value agreed upon for them from the foreigner, and at the same time be able to assure himself of the exact amount exported; so that, in due time and season, a squeeze might be applied, or trade stopped, whenever the drain upon a given object was considered sufficient. This might have been the case, but I do not say it was. Whether it were or not, the fact soon became apparent, that, if any trade was to be done, it could be done only through the Custom-house; and to make assurance doubly sure, the Custom-house was made the Treasury also.

If the native "akindos"* were compelled to pass all their goods through the Custom-house, their profits would naturally not be expected to be considerably augmented, and to recover their former prices, they would demand from the price given a proportionate increase; or decline selling: and so I believe it happened. The foreign merchants, after paying their 5 per cent., soon discovered the game which was being played, but could not help themselves. Of three things one

* "Akindo" is the Japanese name for merchant. In Japan "akindos" are not permitted to ride on horseback! Hence the astonishment with which the officials see our merchants galloping about. They cannot be persuaded that commerce is the secret of England's grandeur.

was self-evident; either they must treat with the Governor or Custom-house directly, or give the native merchant his price, or steer for Kanagowa or China with the best grace possible.

Thus the Governor and his staff, perhaps, executed the orders received from the Imperial Capital, but whether with philanthropic intentions, or with the secret hope of disappointing foreign avidity, time only will tell: let us hope there was a compound mixture.

When I arrived at Nagasaki, I found a beautiful piece of paper, adorned with numerous hieroglyphs, the medium of circulation between the Japanese and the foreigners, under the name of "tael." Much business was done before the 1st of July with this fictitious money.*

But on the 1st July there was to be an alteration, at least we hoped so. I therefore went with some silver to the Treasury, and as a great favour obtained change for twenty whole dollars. The representative of one of the largest houses in the East was with me, and he was favoured with five dollars' worth of itzabous to trade with. In vain, boxes with 1000, 2000, 3000, and 4000 dollars of the best Mexican silver were opened before the

* The Japanese merchants were assured that this paper money should be redeemed at its real value in itzabous on and after the 1st July, 1859; the foreigner was also led to expect as much, but I believe that at this moment some claims are yet unsettled.

eyes of the Treasury officers, in vain appeals to the Consul were menaced, the Japanese government was poor, was willing, but could only exchange a certain limited amount daily, or its supply would speedily be exhausted.

Here, again, the Treaty was maintained; "weight for weight was given," but as no amount had been fixed upon, the Japanese considered that they had the right to determine the maximum to be exchanged. A complete stagnation of all trade ensued. Ships, which I had found in harbour on my arrival (June 4th)* were still lying there on the 1st August, although their expenses must have been very great; but the owners or consignees still hoped on. Some of the merchants received letters from Yedo on the 19th July, reporting the official reception of Mr. Alcock at Yedo and the ratification of the Treaty. This was encouraging; but only a very short time before, a curious document was sent to the Consuls with a very curious specimen of Japanese silver money from the Imperial Mint. The letter, if I remember, requested us to communicate to our respective countrymen that the Imperial Government at Yedo, taking into consideration the grave difficulties we might possibly have to encounter in the free circulation of our monies, had been

* There were three Eton men in the captain's cabin that day. H.M.S. "Sampson."

graciously pleased to coin a new piece of money expressly for us. A specimen was enclosed, and the coin was baptised a "nichou." This was very kind; but the gratifying proof of parental anxiety was not received with the cordiality it perhaps merited, for the Consuls unanimously signed a protest against both the Governor's circular and the currency of the new "foreigner's" money. Here was another delay opposed to the enlargement and development of trade. Perhaps, in this case also, it was only due solicitude for the interests of the poorer classes; and if so, it was praiseworthy, but others could not see it in the same light, nor could I myself very plainly. For whatever estranges us one from the other, cannot advance our common interests; and if there is one money for Jack, and another money for Bill, and he will not take mine and I will not take his, there is not much business to be done; no, nor much free intercourse either.

Was this the point aimed at? The "nichou" or half dollar being refused by the foreigners, simply and purely because it reduced their dollar one third of its value, the Governor (perfectly astounded, endeavoured, not thinking of himself at all, but of the Treaty, of his poor, and the foreigners he was bound to protect,) tried to remedy affairs by introducing bank notes of half

an itzabou, equivalent to the "nichou" repudiated, and to half a dollar! Oddly enough the Japanese had seen plenty of them, and preferred cash; the foreigners held some 300,000 paper taels, and could obtain neither produce nor coin for them. So, this scheme projected, no doubt, with the best intentions, and meant to establish free intercourse and trade, fell to the ground and failed also.

Somehow or other, the Japanese government and the foreigners could not agree at all on money matters; a remarkable fact, because they are the only nation on the earth with whom we ever had such difficulties. In the time of the Dutch, when they were alone in their glory, there was no question of change; now the government coins silver and paper, expressly for the new arrivals, and these very people most uncivilly and most unreasonably refuse to accept the signet and "moon" of the Imperial Siegoon.*

I forgot to say that there is a very commodious printing press at Nagasaki, which I shall have to allude to by and by, as a very wonderful engine, which may, on occasion, however, be turned to more uses than one, it would appear.

* "Moon" answers to our crest, or arms, of which the Japanese, who are not cowards, are quite as proud as all the Howards. It is worn on their dresses, armour, before their gateways; and, in fact, wherever it can be seen, there one may be sure to find it.

But I must say adieu to monetary affairs, as this is not my field. Suffice to say, that there are many "Fabii Cunctatores" in Japan, and when I reach Hakodate, I shall have occasion to speak more of them.

I am free to confess, that, with all their "ruses" and all their diplomacy (if I so may designate the transparent game they so feebly play), I have a regard for my Nagasaki antagonists. Talent they have, speech they have, a love of their country they have, but they did not love foreigners, and are too glad when a powerful anti-foreign ministry at Yedo sends them the "mot d'ordre" to be severe. They will respect the Treaty until forced to oppose it.

CHAPTER II.

INTERVIEWS WITH THE GOVERNOR OF NAGASAKI.

HAVING given a short account of a conference with Japanese officials at Nagasaki, and a correct, but very cursory sketch of the curious money system I found on my arrival, I will now slightly touch on my interviews with the Governor; and after mentioning a few of the natural products of Kiūsiū, and its commerce, leap on board Her Majesty's ship "Highflyer," and steer for the port I know most of, touching at Kanagowa and Yedo, for a little food for paper. Others will describe Nagasaki, and Niphon, better than I can; but as the system of government is the same over all Japan, I may have gleaned, in my brief notes, as much information as many, from the officers, doctors, and priests.

When I commenced this book, on the 4th April, I had read no other published work on Japan but "Thunberg's Flora Japonica." My wife's unpublished letters, and my own notes and memory, supply me with the materials. Perhaps I may

say little new; but I may confirm or contradict what others have said or written before me, and if I should prove incorrect by any future writer, I shall thank him; for a correct history of Japan is indeed a work to be looked for with real interest. It is solely with the intention of writing the truth, that I began and continue this narrative. Having held in Nagasaki and Hakodate an official position, I possessed peculiar advantages for acquiring information, but am not perhaps so free to speak as others.

On my arrival I had several visits to pay to the Governor; for I soon found out that, after our long and tedious conferences, the officials sent to me, from the Vice-Governor downwards, could do nothing; the Governor himself could do but little, and then only on his own responsibility.

From Megasaki (the low cape on which the Consulate was temporarily established) to reach the Governor's "Yenan," it required a good hour. We generally pulled across to Desima, whence soon passing the prison gates *, we walked through the deserted streets, for the heat during my stay

* When we arrived at Nagasaki, there was a wharf at Desima, and a government gate, and a guard, and to reach the town it was necessary to pass through a small door over a narrow bridge. And even to do this it once required the permission of the Governor. All this is, however, now obsolete: the gate at the landing-place and the door over the narrow bridge were demolished soon after our arrival.

at Nagasaki was intense *, and no one moved out, except on urgent business, till after 4 and 5 P. M., to His Excellency's palace. This main street is broad and clean, inhabited by respectable people, officials, and the retainers of the neighbouring Daimios who all have a town house in Nagasaki and are (much against their inclination and pride) obliged to come in once a year, and pay their respects to the Tycoon's representative.

At every hundred yards or so, is a barrier-gate, ever of the same shape and colour, which generally encounters one or two other streets running off at right angles from the main street. These "barrières" are closed every evening, and then either a light is suspended from the cross-piece, or a large box, with a paper lantern, is placed by

* I here add the thermometer and winds from August 15th to September 15th, 1859. The thermometer was taken at 8 A.M. and 2 P.M., the winds at noon:—

August	15	82°	94°	S.W.	August	31	82°	85°	S.W.
,,	16	84	94	S.W.	Sept.	1	82	86	S.W.
,,	17	84	92	S.W.	,,	2	82	86	W.S.W.
,,	18	82	90	S.W.	,,	3	82	88	W.S.W.
,,	19	80	90	S.W.	,,	4	80	90	W S.W.
,,	20	80	90	S.W.	,,	5	82	90	N.N.E.
,,	21	82	90	S.W.	,,	6	80	96	N.N.E.
,,	22†	76	84	N.E.	,,	7	84	90	N.E.
,,	23†	74	84	N.E.	,,	8	84	90	N.E.
,,	24	78	82	S.W.	,,	9	76	88	N.E.
,,	25	84	86	S.W.	,,	10	74	82	N.E.
,,	26	84	92	S.W.	,,	11	76	82	N.E.
,,	27	84	90	S.W.	,,	12	74	84	N.E.
,,	28	84	88	S.W.	,,	13	82	84	N.E.
,,	29	80	88	S.W.	,,	14	72	82	N.E.
,,	30	80	86	S.W.	,,	15	72	82	N.E.

† High winds.

one of the side-posts. The gate, once shut, can only be opened after the permission of the Ottŏna has been obtained, as this town counsellor is answerable for any riot or disturbance, theft or crime, that may be committed within his ward, and not only the Ottŏna, but all his family also are responsible. Passing then through sundry gates of this kind, at some of which I fancied my Yakonins * and interpreter were challenged, we arrived before a handsome flight of stairs, at the base of which were two magnificent camphor trees.

It is the custom when officers of a certain rank visit the Governor, or when Daimios visit amongst themselves, to throw open the great or centre door, but this honour was not paid, until lately, to foreigners. I believe it was an American or Russian officer who first kicked through this line of demarcation, and the Consuls have ever since insisted on the great gates being opened to them. This important piece of etiquette having been attended to, the Consul, with his interpreter, enters the low but clean abode of His Excellency. At the vestibule, a few subalterns, lazily and with undisguised indifference, salute their entry, and usher them to the ante-chamber, where the Go-

* Yăkŏnin, generally an officer with two swords; but known to the foreigners as, or supposed by them to be, a government officer of the police, or custom-house. A yăkŏnin is understood, in fact, to represent a paid officer of the Japanese government.

vernor himself ought to meet them. The Vice-Governor approaches and shakes hands, and presents the great man himself.* After a few bows and fewer words, the Governor requests the Consul to enter the audience-room, well screened off, except towards the garden, where there is a little pond with water-lilies and another species of Nymphæa. All round the room is suspended from several screens, an awning of white grass-cloth, with the trefoil upon it †; and over this we often caught glimpses of eyes which certainly were not those of men, and heard rustlings which were not those caused by warriors or swords. Women are curious even in Japan! Tea, pipes, and cake are then served; afterwards a quantity of dishes; but whenever we went on business, we contented ourselves with a cigar, and went to work at once.

The object of my first visit was to complain that having written seven letters I had received only very unsatisfactory verbal replies. I tried to explain that every official letter required an official reply. This was promised; and this promise was kept; for the next day a long letter

* The governor of Nagasaki, Okăbĕ Sōĕlŏgānŏ Kāmĭ, was a small man, but a clever and intelligent governor; popular, I understood, with his countrymen. Kāmĭ means noble, not princely.

† Before the Government-house there is generally spread a grass-tree or linen-cloth, which means to say, "No admittance except on business:" the "moon" or crest has much the appearance of our clover leaf, and is the "moon" of government.

(that is, long from its envelope, which was at least thirteen inches in length) came open and without address, to the Consulate. Of course it was returned as it was sent; but within a few days, seven separate answers, to the seven official letters, duly signed and sealed, were sent in.

My second visit was to exchange 500 dollars for the "Sampson," on her return from Yedo. This was a grave business: there was not an itzabou in the Treasury, paper-money in quantities to any amount: would twenty silver itzabou do? As a favour he would give fifty. The Vice-Governor hinted, that, in the course of a few days, perhaps 100 might be raked up out of the empty vaults of the "Gōyŏsŏ." * Obdurate man, I insisted on having this change. Before I could obtain it, however, I had to argue it three hours, and then it was proposed to send the whole amount to the Consulate in copper pieces, called "Tēmpŏ's," about one penny each. I asked for a few silver coins, and before 3 P. M. on the

* "Gōyŏsŏ" is the Japanese name for Custom-house or Town-hall: where all the foreigners do their business; and here only can the foreigner see officials. This has also since July 1st, 1859, become the Treasury.

† "Tēmpŏ," a handsome copper coin, with a square hole in the centre for a string to pass through; when I arrived at Nagasaki I obtained fifty-two tempos for one Mexican dollar. When I left Japan in October, 1860, the treasury at Hakodate gave us still fifty-one.

same day, I received my full exchange of five hundred dollars in silver. I suppose some miracle had occurred in the Treasury, or His Excellency had in the mean time become pleasant.

The Japanese never lose their temper. Beforehand they generally know the object of a Consul's visit, and have made up their minds as to the result. Their only plan of warfare is to tire us out, and refuse as long as they can; and when that will no longer succeed, they yield with as good a grace as possible, expressing their regret, perhaps, that they had not well understood the meaning of the demand before.

The Governor and his immediate staff are always excessively polite, but they rarely laugh. To aid intellect (not that it is much required), they have a knack of perpetually turning the head upside down, or turning it on one side, and seeming to be thinking deeply. But this is only a "ruse:" they are far too sharp to be taken in — too clever to be duped. They know the Treaty word for word, and have it at their fingers' and tongues' end, both in Japanese, English, and Dutch.

After an interview, the Governor conducts the Consul to the ante-chamber, the Vice-Governor to the vestibule, and the other officers make a bow, when each party retires.

One account of these visits will describe all.

The other visits were fac-similes of the two I have mentioned, although the subjects treated upon were very different. I was very much surprised to find out, however, that what I supposed to have been a confidential talk, was within a few minutes of my departure made known almost verbatim to the Dutch and American Consuls; in fact, that a secret conference with the Governor was instantly betrayed.

It might have been natural for the Japanese to take counsel together with their older acquaintances, the Dutch; but although our Treaties were the same, or by the favoured-nation clause might at the Consul's wish become so, yet our interests at Nagasaki were at first peculiarly different. England was entering on the scene, Holland had been fixed there for centuries, and had long outstanding claims to satisfy.

Desima was almost a part of Holland, and the Dutch had valuable property upon it — houses, stores, &c. Of course at Kanagowa and Hakodate both nations would begin the race on an equality. The Japanese officials then, immediately, sought the Dutch settlement to announce the matter of our conferences and to ask advice.

The interests of the United States and Great Britain were the same, but it was somewhat ridiculous to hear my colleagues, whenever I went in the fulness of confidence to tell them the result

of a debate, announce to me their perfect cognisance of the whole already.

I suppose the Japanese wished to know the feelings of each Consul on any subjects of altercation; whether they were all unanimous on the point, or whether there was a difference of opinion.

The Japanese are excellent diplomatists, and have evidently studied Machiavel; for, as in the case of the money for the "Sampson," they can and do most unceremoniously and unblushingly declare a fact which is not the reality, stick to it manfully through thick and thin, in the hopes of carrying it through; and attack, retreat, recapitulate and yield with the most becoming and natural grace in the world. After all their persuasion and eloquence has failed to substantiate a good honest "équivoque," (which in their opinion is the ne plus ultra of intellectual superiority,) and they find the plain truth is a more sure and successful weapon of defence, they give in, laugh, sip their tea, smoke a pipe, and are ready again.

The exports from Nagasaki are considerable, and will probably before long be enormous; for many of the articles are quite essential to our Chinese neighbours, and others are greedily desired in Europe.

The lacquer ware, made at Nagasaki, is of the very commonest description, showy and of bright colours, but will not last, and the lacquer it-

self wears off very soon. Still some rare old pieces are now and then to be met with. A French lady will rarely wear false lace, or imitation "guipure," as she would be in a perpetual fear of detection, and would be almost ashamed of being seen with it; in fact, I believe she would rather go without any than wear what was not real. So with the lacquer ware of Japan; the common people use the commonest kind, the merchants and middle classes content themselves with an inferior quality, but a Governor, Daimio, or any gentleman, has none but the very best, and would be ashamed of using any but good, sound, simple, but handsome ware.

It requires some time and habit to distinguish between good and bad lace. At first all appears alike, and the inexperienced would have great difficulty in making a selection; but practice makes perfect; so also with the lacquer ware of Japan. On our arrival we bought any thing, and thought it lovely, but when the first appetite for novelty was satiated, then we began to make comparisons: then the Governor, or some officer would make a present, which had no gaudy colours, but was solid, richly embossed, and bore the most minute criticism and examination; in fact, it was perfectly finished.

By degrees, the eye becomes accustomed to old laque, and we smile at the ignorance of the new

arrival, who is generally tempted by the brilliant colours, as we were before him. Old laque is, like good lace, inimitable; but an experienced connoisseur can at a glance pronounce upon its merits and reality. It is very difficult now to meet with a good old specimen; the market is stocked full of modern work, made expressly for Europe. Now and then, however, a Daimio, very hard up, or a courtesan in temporary embarrassment, sends secretly from Yedo a choice piece for sale, and it is astonishing to find the enormous price it has realised. Twenty, forty, sixty sovereigns or more are given for an old box not a foot square; but the sale is tacitly interdicted; indeed it is almost as disgraceful for a Japanese to part with old lacquer ware, as it is for an English gentleman to dispose of his family plate.

The laque is vegetable: it is the sap or juice of a very handsome tree, Rhus vernix, which I trust to see before long in the Royal Gardens of Kew, if it be not there already. But the manner of preparing it, and the mode of applying it to the perfection of those exquisite old specimens is, and is likely to remain, a secret for a long time.* The bark of this tree, on being cut, yields a white milk, which becomes black on exposure to the

* As one of the ingredients in its preparation, the oil of the "Bignonia tomentosa" is employed.

air: the leaves, petals, and nearly every part of the tree yield also the same liquid.

I have known many hungry and persevering inquirers after the truth, but they have not succeeded in discovering it; which is to be regretted, as we might, in Europe, make improvement even on what appears matchless. The Japanese will not part with the secret — indeed, like the freemasons', I fancy it is lost in the dim ages of mythology. If secret there is or was, it is lost to us and themselves, for the modern laque is such a wretched imitation of the ancient, that it is very difficult to admit that the same composition could have produced the two qualities. Ordinary laque has the consistency of treacle, and much the same colour; the first coating is thin and yellowish, the second of a brownish tinge, and the last (as I have seen it employed on my own furniture) a bright mahogany. Though Rubens is charming, he does not equal Correggio, nor can Delaroche for a moment be compared to Raphael; equally great is the difference between new and ancient lacquer ware: though both are beautiful, one is exquisite.

The porcelain made at Nagasaki is solid and at the same time elegant. It is a government monopoly*, I believe. To procure a service for twelve

* I may be wrong in saying that porcelain is a *government* monopoly; it is a monopoly nevertheless to the best of my be-

persons, the permission of the authorities is or was required, and then, an ordinarily handsome one would cost at least 10*l.*

The Japanese can imitate any thing: an English cup and saucer with handle, a soup-tureen, a vase, or a candlestick; but they are rather exorbitant in their prices. In the shops, however, one meets with large round dishes *, bowls, cups, vases, little teapots, inkstands, salt-cellars, handsome square dishes and plates, and saki bottles †,

lief; but the great Daimio of Kiūsiū, the Prince of Fizen or Fidzen, is the proprietor; it is in his territories that all the fine specimens we purchase at Nagasaki are manufactured; and I also believe that the very best china and porcelain *in all Japan* is made in his principality.

* I saw one large dish, or "grand plat rond" at the house of the Dutch Commissioner. I think I do not exaggerate when I say it was more than a yard in diameter.

† In these days of photographs, talbotypes, and "cartes de visites" one sees one's portrait everywhere, either on the window of the engraver or stationer, or on the table of a friend; but, as in Japan, we have no photographers, I may safely say that the portrait of my wife was the first portrait of an European lady that ever figured on the outside of a Japanese saki bottle. Such, however, is the case: the wretch, who followed her about everywhere on the day we first landed, was, as I afterwards discovered, an artist of celebrity. He devoted his energies and talent to produce a miracle, and much to his credit he succeeded, for the portrait is hideous, and as much like the original as a butterfly to a salamander. But I suppose he was the editor of the Nagasaki "Charivari," and made his fortune by the caricature, which, I am assured, figured not only in saki bottles, but in many other equally fragile specimens of art. How the Prince and Princess of Fizen must have laughed! The word "Charivari" reminds me, that in Japan, the ladies, although they all seem dressed alike, take

of all variety and colouring, which are reasonable and well worth purchasing.

But what pleases the foreigner most, and what he immediately purchases, are those apparently fragile and sweetly pretty little egg-shell porcelain cups, with saucers and covers, so thin and transparent that he is afraid to touch them. Still, notwithstanding their delicate form, they are very strong and will stand almost as hard a blow as our common chinaware. There are some curious drawings on most of them; but here, as in their picture-books, it behoves the purchaser to be very particular in his selection.

A set of these, for a tea or breakfast service, cost in our time from 30*s.* to 2*l.* Old china, like old laque, is rare at Nagasaki; the lover of antiques should delay his purchases until he visits Yedo, or Kanagowa, where he may sometimes meet with unique and rare specimens.

There are few other curiosities to be found at Nagasaki.* The ivory carvings, bronzes, and other

in their "Journal des Modes" or "Magasin des Demoiselles," and receive by it the last fashions from Yedo; and they will talk about these futilities with as much zeal and interest as any of our English and French ladies.

* I omitted to mention those exquisitely worked basket cups: the thin porcelain is bound by a fine net-work of cane or young bamboo, so neatly woven that the *meshes* are imperceptible. There are some grosser specimens of this workmanship, but the well-finished platting is inimitable. The origin of this beautiful texture was, no doubt, a protection to the fingers of tea-drinkers:

"biblos," * all come from Osākă and the interior, so that, when the Port of Hĭōgŏ shall be opened in 1863, a rich store of valuable and eccentric novelties may be expected.

But lacquer ware and porcelain form a very insignificant part of the productions of Kiūsĭū. Rich and common silks, tea, camphor, isinglass, soy, vegetable-oil, Japan wax, copper, &c. find their way to the European marts direct. Coral, dried fish, sea-weed, bees-wax, Awaba and Erico (bêche de mer and sea-slugs) mushrooms, ginseng, gall-nuts and vermicelli are some of the articles which go to China, and they generally produce very profitable returns.

The rice of Japan is perhaps the most nutritious in the world, and, though forbidden to be exported (as is also wheat) under the seventh regulation annexed to our Treaty, yet a considerable quantity of both has been bought, when the Treasury thought it convenient or feasible to sell.

The coal-beds of Japan are yet in their infancy and unexplored, but they are supposed to be rich and extensive; and when the shortsighted jealousy of the Japanese government shall wear away, when they will allow British enterprise and pluck to

and many are so well done, that they appear to have been painted on the cup.

* Biblo, a French word, comprehending in its meaning any thing, and all things which have no use, but still are curiosities or ornaments, and bought as such.

be free to go beyond the ten "ri" stipulated upon by treaty, or when some more enlightened Daimio may take it into his head (a case not improbable) to conclude a distinct and separate convention with one of the powerful nations of the West, then this necessary principle of locomotion will be developed, exhumed, and perhaps sold at the pit's mouth for the same price it is now bought in the black fields of England.

Engineers have hitherto vainly endeavoured to obtain permission to examine the beds: no shaft has yet been sunk. All the coal which has hitherto been bought and sold has been purely superficial, yet many of the experiments already made have proved to be satisfactory, though others have not fully answered our expectations.

The harbour of Nagasaki is well fortified, and if as well defended as armed, it would be able to give a very warm reception to any fleet or squadron which should dare to pass by Papenberg.* It is so long since I left Nagasaki, and so many changes may have taken place since I left it, that what I do venture to say is under reserve, for what was conjecture then may now be clearly known. Moreover I have no maps or

* Papenberg is the island so famous or rather notorious as the spot where so many Christians, Portuguese and Japanese, were so barbarously murdered.

books of reference with me, so I trust to memory alone.

From Papenberg the view of the Nagasaki inlets is exquisite. Rarely exceeding a mile in breadth anywhere, innumerable little capes and promontories shoot out on the sea, covered to the very lowest edge with the most luxuriant foliage and verdure; while above, before, on all sides and even behind (when the ship is once within Point Dāĭbă) mountains and hills, clothed to the very summit, seem to have rescued a lovely lake from the stormy ocean.

At the end of the harbour the masts of vessels may be distinguished; as we approach, the hulls, then the town, at the "embouchure" as it were of a broad valley. On either side are two smaller but picturesque little bays, one of which, to the east is, or is to be, filled up and become the European settlement.

But to reach the anchorage a ship has had to pass close to Năsōwmăsāmă, Point Dāĭbă, and the little capes and promontories I have already mentioned. On all these points and headlands are batteries with many guns, good heavy pieces of artillery. And their number is stated to be close upon three hundred! a kind of Dardanelles to Estamboul. From the centre of each deep virgin forest masked batteries would vomit forth their thunder, and while the narrow channel would

occupy the attention of part of the invading force, these innumerable hornets would keep the remainder in activity.

The channel is deep; steamers therefore and Lancasters might laugh at the demonstration; but the channel is narrow also, and I should prefer many other places in the world to the deck of a sailing ship whilst beating its way up to the anchorage. I believe (though the popular opinion is against me) that the Japanese are brave, and that they would man those guns; that they would load and fire them with precision; and if we expect to see their officers run away like Chinese mandarins, we should be very much disappointed. For besides their cannon they have other arms—muskets, swords, and revolvers, and better than all these, union and "le feu sacré." But let us hope that our "Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce" will not require such a solution.

The Japanese Government, and the Prince of Fizen, are both very jealous of foreigners visiting the islands at the entrance of Nagasaki harbour.

Captain Page, U.S. corvette "Germantown," very kindly lent me his "gig" and crew of seven men for a day's shelling. Accordingly I pulled out with my wife, my child, and maid-servant, to the

island of "Tsimbo," and landed upon it, leaving the sailors to amuse themselves as they liked. I had not advanced far, before I perceived a crowd of persons, soldiers, men, women and children, rushing down from the wooded hills above us, as if with intention of cutting us off from the crew, but they were disappointed. For it appears the men in the gig had already visited this island, and had not been particularly pleased with their reception. They had, therefore, kept a watch upon us, and had observed the movements of the Japanese, and arrived just at the right moment with their arms. I was unarmed, and had been busily engaged up to my knees in salt water and sea-weed, but we thought it prudent to retreat, which we quietly did, to the mainland of Kiusiu.

We found few shells and fewer still worth preserving, but several plants of great beauty. Indeed, I should say the flora of Nagasaki was highly interesting; but I had no time for botany, and even had I been more at liberty it was far too sultry and oppressive. We found the tea-tree everywhere. The camellia, azalia, bryonia, vicia, salvia, rhododendron, rosmarinus, bignonia, oxalis, orchis, hibiscus, euphorbia, mimosa, convolvulus, myrtle, verbena, cineraria, lobelia, potentilla, saxifrage, are amongst the few of which I collected specimens; but I do not love snakes, and every even-

ing I went out so many of them were about, that I was in everlasting fear of a cold damp garter attaching itself to my ankle. So I determined to give up botany until I reached Yedo. In Australia I nearly fell a victim to my love of flowers and trees, being almost stung to death by a too familiar approach to the giant nettle-tree. At Nagasaki also I got into a scrape with the "Rhus succedaneum," or vegetable wax-tree leaves, which blistered my ignorance and face in the most unbecoming manner: science is only to be purchased by study and experience.

I spoke about the conduct of these islanders, and was told in reply that the Prince of Fizen had fortified it, and did not like strangers wandering about it; and when I asserted that it was within the ten "ri" from Nagasaki, it was admitted, and a kind of apology was made, by assuring me that it was only out of curiosity that the Japanese had come down to see us.

We finished our day's shelling under the guns of Cape Kībatēh, with a solitary crow for sentinel. I do not remember meeting with a single wild animal in Nagasaki. Of rats there were plenty; of snakes, centipedes, and lizards any amount; and of butterflies a brilliant display; but then there are flowers; and, as every flower there has its insect, a naturalist might find enough to

gratify him, were he only a botanist and entomologist.

But the steam is blowing off — I look out of my verandah — and I see Her Majesty's ship "Highflyer." She has arrived to take me and mine to Yedo and Hakodate.

CHAPTER III

FIRST EXCURSION INTO THE INTERIOR.

British Consulate, Hakodate,
July 16, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,

As I think a few lines giving you some account of my two excursions may not only please you, for you know all my companions, but interest others also, especially Sir W. Hooker, I burn a little "vegetable oil," and notwithstanding the music of some dozens of pariah dogs, and a concert given by Dowager Lady Rat to all her connections and friends, and that on a thin wooden ceiling over my head, I will tell you all I remember.

On the 14th of June I left Hakodate for my first inland excursion. Since October 15th, I had been a prisoner in consequence of snow, business, or other not too agreeable occupations; but the weather was fine, my port so triste, no ship, and my wife and child were wanting a change of air.

I fortunately found M. Mermet, a French abbé

and gentleman, to accompany me, and Mrs. Hodgson prevailed upon the wife of our Russian doctor, Mr. Albrecht, to join us.

Thus, with my maid, I had a party of two gentlemen and four womankind, including a child. I had all my Japanese servants with a red belt, bearing Her Majesty's arms, around them; and trusting to that symbol of peace, I went unarmed, my only weapon being my court sword, which of course I had a right to carry, although of no use for attack or defence.

I was not quite sure of the result or the success of my expectation with so many petticoats in train; but Church and State have always supported Great Britain, and so they will, please God, in Japan.

Thanks to the commissariat, I had an unlimited supply of horses; and as I thought they were doing their duty quite as efficiently, when carrying two ladies, a maid-servant, and a little child, as cropping grass at Her Majesty's expense and doing nothing else, I took them.

Had Her Majesty seen her subjects, and how kindly they were received by their new friends, she would not have scolded me, if even one horse had come back sore-footed, which, happily, did not occur.

To see us start in my temple yard with the two glorious flags of Great Britain and France

floating together like two brothers, or brother and sister, there were several hundred Japanese, but there was no intrusion; curiosity and respect only.

Mrs. Hodgson, Mrs. Albrecht, M. l'Abbé Mermet de Cachon were on horseback; Eva, my child, and Sarah, our maid, were in norimons, and altogether we formed a party of forty persons.

Of course, I took with me provisions, beds (*i. e.* blankets), and all the necessaries I could think of; for having been in Australia and Abyssinia, I am rather conceited as to my powers of making up a party; and so we started.

The horses were not accustomed to lady amazons; they refused to bear their precious weights, and it required all the care of the "bettos" (grooms) to lead them; but we got to Kamida by 10 A.M., four miles, and thence we started off, after seeing our party all together; and really it was a proud sight to see such a specimen of chivalry.

Our first halt was at about fourteen miles, at the botanical gardens, where the Emperor's doctor, with several other medical officers, showed us all honour; "we quaffed our tea and were as merry as could be."

All the plants that medical science could bring together were here to be found; students were studying; many acres were devoted to the pro-

pagation of vegetable and medicinal knowledge, and much kindness was manifested, and an earnest desire to give us their views, and to receive ours in return.

It was not Kew Gardens, but it was a delightful incipient nursery, wherein nearly all countries found some representatives.

We then proceeded about six miles more, and thanks to the Governor of Hakodate, who knew of my intended journey, I was honoured with a pathway of sand whereon to walk from my horse to the hotel, as is the custom for high officers, so that their feet may not be soiled by the mud or other stuff.

We had five rooms, one looking on a good garden, very pretty. Our great pastime was the exchange of a dollar into cash (5320 pieces of iron money); and these we threw amongst the folk, who scrambled eagerly for them, much to our delight. Of course the ladies and child were the chief objects of curiosity.

The Mayor came to offer us his house; but we were already established and thanked him; but this showed kindness on the part of the authorities.

The next morning at seven we started again, and mounted a hill, almost a mountain, for it must have been nearly 1200 feet high, still going north. The

scenery was exquisite, and after the snow and prison of Hakodate made one feel alive again.

Chestnut, oak, pine, beech, silver birch, elm, cherry, prune, dwarf oak, elder, sycamore of several varieties, catalpa? magnolia, platanus, these were some of the natural beauties that nature offered us after our escape from our long imprisonment; and was it not a bouquet?

The under-ground was strewn with dwarf roses (scented), honeysuckles, orchis, convallarias, as in Lincolnshire, major, minor et minimus! of many varieties and in vast quantities, potentillas, vines, and many kinds of clematis. In fact, I was so unexpectedly bewildered by all I saw, that I really must return soon to have a more cool idea of this beautiful scenery.

I had scarce reached the summit of the hill when "I looked me down where a hundred realms appear,—lakes, forests, plains extending wide."

The panorama was really grand. In the distance, about twenty-five miles off, was the volcano, the end of our journey; below us an enormous lake which had once been perhaps the crater of a volcano also; around us not the Alps or Pyrenees, but delicious green-clad mountains; and there certainly was enough to ravish the eye and warm the heart.

This was a long day: we had to descend the

mountain, to the lake, and then take an easterly course for nearly twenty-five miles through virgin forests, plains, some morasses to give excitement to enchantment, and a most singular mass of pyramidical monticules, evidently the result of volcanic action, until we arrived at the lake, where, through the goodness of the Emperor's doctor, we were again kindly received and welcomed. Our hut was very tiny, consisting of two rooms, one about eight feet square, over the lake and running stream; this was for the ladies, child, and maid. The other room, somewhat longer, was drawing-room, dining-room, and bed-room for the gentlemen.

But, with the exception of the village at the Botanical Gardens and the small town where we slept, we had seen no trace of civilisation; a few charcoal-burners only were met with, and I could not help thinking it was time to open to Christians this unsealed volume of love.

Not a human being on the road, and yet so near two large cities as Matsumai and Hakodate!

In the night-time we were desired to fire guns (which my Japanese servants carried for the purpose) to frighten away the bears. Two of our horses broke their tethers, but perhaps it was from the carelessness of the grooms, and not the presence of bears, for we had enormous wood fires burning to keep off these carnivorous ani-

mals, who had, two nights before, demolished the horse of a Japanese officer.

Saturday, the 16th, was "a great day intirely," as Paddy would say. We started at eight o'clock to mount the volcano. No European had ever been up it, and even Japanese fear it, as demons, Manfreds, and Mephistophiles are alone supposed to inhabit it. Ladies, with their delicate feet, were to be the first to ascend this object of Japanese terror.

There was no lava, no scoria, but a sulphuric rock, easily pulverised, and liable to detrition, painful to walk upon; but the ladies gallantly held on, and said they would "do it," and they *did* do it; although I must confess that, perhaps from helping them, or want of exercise, I was nearly beat; but they did it, and well were we all rewarded.

I calculate the height at 1760 feet: the crater is about 1000 yards across, about 250 deep. There were five considerable sulphurous geysers burning, and some thirty diminutive attempts at combustion, around an amphitheatre really not unlike the Coliseum at Rome, and one old peak sitting silently and grandly above all, thinking, perhaps, what all his children were doing below to overturn him, which they seem inclined to do, for sulphur has as violent and strong passions, I fancy, as humanity.

Here we drank a bottle of claret and water to "absent friends," and returned rather tired to the lake. They took us rather more than five hours.

Please remember we were the first to ascend this volcano, and had our own route to discover. For the future, people may say it is quite easy, but they will have had the road opened to them by ladies. One gentleman, who has since followed in our steps, but who has long been in classic Italy, declared it to be nothing, yet was obliged to adopt Horace's advice to travellers,

"altius ac nos
Præcinctis unum,"

for he went up in the very lightest dress possible, and then with some difficulty reached the top.

The sulphur is far from pure, though the mines are being worked, not by volunteers, but by convicts, who do not, poor fellows, live long. I cannot describe the débris, but I remember that Vesuvius is black, and this is white, and very painfully so to the eyes and ladies' complexions.

Our next day was Sunday, a day of rest; but we could not resist taking the only boat there, and making an excursion on the lake. I really believe that European ladies have planted their feet where never yet even the native scions of Yezo have been, and have bathed in waters which legends people with monsters.

The lake is studded with innumerable islands,

and if a couch covered with moss, ferns of all beauty, orchis, lilies of the valley, clematis, honeysuckle, an umbrageous "parapluie" of chestnut trees, and the others I have already mentioned will tempt you to take a cigar with the tempting houris of Hakodate, you might leave even your diplomatic labours for a moment, and visit us, and then you shall see them, and I feel sure you will be delighted. Every island was "baptised," "Victoria," "Eugénie," "Marie;" and although I have seen many climes and countries, I never saw anything to surpass the virgin magnificence of this lake and its islands. Byron ought to have seen them before he wrote his "Island."

Again rumours of "bears," but none to be seen. On Monday we started homewards, but not quite by the same way. We, however, reached the town where we had slept, on the 14th, late at night; and there I thought our journey was over for this time; but I was travelling with ladies, and, as you know, they are masters on such occasions.

So the next morning, M. Mermet having gone in advance, to my horror and astonishment, being almost beat, they proposed a visit to the "lead-mines," a day's excursion of itself almost. I was dull of comprehension for some time, but it would not do: so we searched for a bullet, not knowing

the word for lead, but found only some shot. We thus explained, in excellent Japanese, our wishes to our servants, and off we went to the "lead-mines," which we reached by a most delightful route.

What I also can assure you is, that the Japanese officials received us most kindly, and showed us everything to be seen; and were, as everywhere on our journey, most attentive and polite.

You have seen the "lead-mines," and will be glad to hear they are working them, and making a road to further the "exploitation:" and so I must conclude; leaving my second journey, more interesting perhaps still, if this has any interest, for a second letter.

We all arrived safe, well, and pleased after a six days' journey unarmed, with women and a child, no officers or servants but my own; and were everywhere treated not with respect only but cordiality.

Yezo is a nutshell, rich in the interior, I believe, but not known even to the Japanese outside. All round the coast are innumerable fishing villages, but I do not believe there is in the island a city, town, or village of importance five miles from the coast.

My second party was amongst the "Ainos," with l'Abbé Mermet, and Mr. Cowan.

To Rutherford Alcock, Esq., Jedo.

SECOND EXCURSION.

British Consulate, Hakodate,
July 24, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,

I finished my last voyage on the 19th ultimo. On Wednesday the 27th I started again, on a second cruise, having still Her Majesty's horses at my disposal.

There was no chance of a ship. We had been, in vain, waiting for one for the horses; and so, leaving orders for an express to follow me, should a ship arrive, I left with Mr. Cowan and M. l'Abbé Mermet.

Up to the lake described in my last letter, the route was the same. From that spot we went northerly some few miles, but the scenery we passed through was, if possible, more delicious than that of the lake. Certainly this time we had not the society of ladies, and we were still unarmed.

I had beforehand told the Governor that I was intending this cruise, and he made no objection to it.

Beyond the lake for several miles, no terraced avenue, no ducal or royal park, could equal the scenery. A lake below, mountains from 600 feet

to 1400 above us; within our reach, the graceful and pendulous branches of weeping-birch, ash, platanus, vine, beech, &c., each striving to kill the parent tree, bowed down before us, as if to give us a welcome; and then, the sturdy old oak was there, and the horse-chestnut was in bloom, not as at Hampton Court perhaps, but still it reminded us of home and of our gracious Queen's mother's residence, and I could not help thinking so, and of that illustrious lady.

The umbrage, if I may so call it, seemed to welcome our arrival; it actually made apparent reverence to us, or, at least, we might imagine it: for really, to see all Nature bowing down, as we did, over the pathway of unknown and unheard-of visitors, was a welcome of Nature to Christianity, — so I, poetically, thought it to be.

The underground was of dwarf oak, ferns, roses, myrtaceæ, and many leguminosæ, which I cannot here describe. Then the orchis, of all plants the dearest, several "mimosæ," calytris (on the sand), "Dodonæas," "Hakeas," and a creeper almost like the sensitive plant (*M. sensitiva*).

Our first halt was at a village, "quod versu dicere non est," about twenty miles from Hakodate in a straight line. We were most kindly received everywhere, and here we entered the first "Aino" village.

As I said in my last letter, the interior of Yezo

is an unknown country even to the natives, occupied by its pristine owners, the bears and deer only; for I observed no roads or footpaths branching off either to the right or left, and we had as frequently to go on the sea beach as on the cliffs or downs above us.

At the entrance to the first "Aino" village, heads of bears formed, if not a noble, a suitable "barrière; but there was no "octroi" to pay. For ages, the sires, grandsires, and progenitors had staked these proofs of their valour before their huts. You will excuse me, if my Japanese servant dared to take one tooth for you, but I left something in its place that I dare say they liked just as well.

Would that I could draw or paint! but, unfortunately, I do not possess that talent, or I should have had many an interesting sketch to show; for on our arrival with some eighteen horses, the astonished villagers stood aghast, and thought we were sprites or demons from the vasty deep, and their affrighted countenances were worthy of painting.

Along the pathway, for it was only a narrow path, where one or two horses could go abreast, these despised of Japanese cringed, men, women, and children (to my horror and disgust) before us.

They squatted down; and as we passed put

their hands to the ground, and then, with due reverence raised them to their heads, in token of deep respect and submission. Many an itzabou the children got in the queen's and emperor's name from all of us.

The "Ainos" are, I understand, the despised aborigines of Japan! Their number does not to-day exceed 80,000; but, if one were to take the head of a Socrates, or other learned Greek, into one's hands, and give him a long black beard, with long black hair, not scrupulously neat or very clean, and then clothe him in nature's garb, simplicity, you would have some idea of an "Aino" man. They are strong and muscular; but they are despised as Jews are by the Arabs; yet, in my own poor opinion, they are as fine a race as most demi-savages.

The women have a profusion of black flowing hair, combed "long, long ago;" their appearance is not the most cleanly, but they seemed so humble that we pitied them. Barring this long hair, with its untidiness, they (the ladies) have a tattoed upper and under lip, beautifully blue: it might please the poet, not the man. Long hair uncombed for ages, and blue tattoed lips, are not the most inviting or most pleasing,—so I thought at least.

These poor people do not speak Japanese; even my servants of Hakodate could not converse with

them; but I wish I could speak their language, and then no doubt I should find brave hearts beating beneath brawny chests.

They live entirely on fish and herbs. At every few miles you may meet an "Aino" settlement,—boats, nets, and all the concomitants of a fishing village.

Many are employed by Matsumai and Hakodate merchants to obtain fish for oil, and they gain one whole penny a day! but to these simple folk that is enough, perhaps.

On the 28th we proceeded onwards, meeting the same race of people, but no Japanese, except officials. I calculate we went about thirty miles due north from Hakodate.

A fine beach at low water, and a bridle-path-way above at high water, were the only roads; and I fancy they are the only roads in Yezo, broad enough only to let a norimon or sedan-chair pass easily along.

There were no shells on the beach, but before us, some forty miles, was another volcano, which I estimate at 6000 feet high. This appeared to be in action, and was, from its whitish colour, probably sulphuric.

The flowers about us were dwarf roses, which almost crimsoned the earth, tigridias, crinums, and several myrtaceæ, also the elegant Parnassia, and many, to us, new plants.

The rocks we met with were few; but there was quartz (rarely) and black sand, then yellow ochre and ferruginous earth, some specimens of granite, but not scoria or lava, which much astonished me.

Every one on the way showed us great civility and attention. The best houses offered us, the chief officers came to see us (perhaps from duty as well as curiosity), and we were never molested by any one.

Wherever we stopped, "tea," "tea," and "sweetmeats," were immediately placed before us; and you may feel assured that our party acknowledged their kind offerings by some small present.

I have inadequately described our trip. On the 28th we retraced our steps. On the 29th, at the top of the lake, or rather the mountains which surrounded it, I received "in a large cigar-box," a little note from my wife, saying that Captain Colvile, H. M. S. "Camilla," had arrived. I therefore left my company as abruptly as I leave you, wishing for "good news from home," which I knew your kind care had not forgotten to forward me.

My impression is still that the interior of Yezo is uninhabited except by bears and animals; and that the natives are really icthyologists, vegetarians, and dwellers on the sea-shore.

I would add, before closing this letter, one

remark, which is this, that, although it may not be in your day or mine, the forests of Yezo contain all the woods necessary for the fleets of any country; and, please God, their undeveloped riches will, unknown even to the natives themselves, become most valuable exports by and by, to the advancement of our religion and commerce and to our mutual happiness and benefit,—things most ardently to be desired. For then our treaty will be a treaty of friendship,—ay, of *real* friendship and amity.

To Rutherford Alcock, Esq., Jedo.

THIRD EXCURSION.

British Consulate, Hakodate,
August 13, 1860.

My dear Sir,

As I hope that my two letters describing my voyages of the 16th and 24th ult. may, more or less, have interested you, I will now give you a short account of my third voyage.

Before all, you must remember that I am unarmed, except the guns which my Japanese carry to shoot or frighten bears, and go back to Hakodate, if so directed or requested by the governors, to whom I announce my departure generally the day before.

On Friday the 27th, after office-hours, I left the Consulate with my constable and six Japanese servants. Instead of going round the bay, which would have taken us a whole day, I took my boat, and, after two hours' pulling, we arrived at Yenanai about sunset. Yenanai is on our charts, but I differ much with Mr. Richards and others; I consider the Bay of Hakodate at least six miles across, nay, I am pretty sure it is. Yet many will prefer, perhaps, Mr. Richards' and the American surveys to my conjecture. There are, moreover, currents in the harbour; if the wind sets in strongly from the south-west, the entry is difficult even for junks and open boats.

I had sent our horses round to Yenanai the same evening; but the wind blew, and the rain fell in such avalanches that it was only at 11 A.M. on the morrow that I dared to put my nose out of my wood and paper-hut. I thought even rain (with a waterproof coat) was preferable to six feet square, with paper windows, where at each moment kind but curious hosts were "en surveillance," and, to the horror of all my party, I said, "En avant! marchons!"

This voyage confirms my account of others, — Japan is a nut-shell. The sea-coast at divers intervals is inhabited; at every point, bay, or promontory, a village is to be seen. In the interior (where I hope soon to go), I fancy still that there are no

roads, for I saw none branching off. Japan is, in fact, a nation of "pêcheurs." The Japanese live on vegetables, rice, and fish, — and even to see a cow milked, it wounds their pride, and I fear their hopes of heaven.

We skirted the coast, every now and then mounting a little hillock, and so varying at intervals the route. The land is rich, but cultivated only in patches, few and far between,—potatoes, beans, peas, a little rice and rye or wheat; but at every house was a pretty little garden, consisting of some eight or ten trees or plants, all taken great care of, but all "contrefaits" by age and art.

The distant hills, clothed to their very summits, and, I should think, about 700 feet high on an average (although some peaks might reach to the height of 1600 feet), have a very gentle and pleasant appearance. Some are pine-clad, but the major part appear covered with oak, chestnut, elm, and birch.

The underwood all the way consisted of the same, viz., dwarf oak, three to six feet high, of two or three varieties, ferns, liliaceæ, roses exquisitely perfumed, the wild sloe tree, and another species of prunus, campanulas, agrimony, veratrum and honeysuckle,—one mass of green from the sea to the highest peak.

We had to cross a great many rivers, much

swollen by last night's rain; indeed, we had to swim across two, which were at least one hundred yards broad, and were ferried over a third. I had no idea that I should meet with so many or so large rivers. At the mouth of each (and we crossed seven) we found a village, and cultivation too, and along the banks also there were fields to a considerable extent. The Japanese float down these rivers very large trunks of trees, which would seem to contradict my repeated assertions that Japan is a nut-shell; but the hills and mountains are not more than five to seven miles from the sea. I saw a great many coming down, and the people seemed to be profiting by the night's rain, for they were all very busy.

We arrived about 3 P. M. at a very long and well-populated town; it was nearly two miles long, clean, and with a very broad street; but I saw nothing curious in the shops. Everybody came out to see us; I think my Chinaman and his tail were the greatest objects of attraction. Everybody was civil and polite. This town was close to Cape Saraki. I remarked all along the coast, at about 1000 yards to a mile distant, a barrier reef over which the sea broke continually. There was also an immense quantity of sea-weed, and a very considerable supply of Bêche de mer, and sea-slugs, the famous awabee and erico of the Japanese. These seem to afford the chief occupa-

tion of these people, for there were many boats at sea with the men, while the women and children were busily occupied in drying them on shore.

The earth is very black, sometimes argillaceous, and now and then attempts at breccia (silicious). I saw several pieces of coal on the beach, but I did not remark any symptoms of a bed.

There were a great many sources and three little waterfalls (around each source the soil was yellow, like ochre), and the rocks over which the water fell were quite yellow, evidently the result of some mineral action.

We pushed on at 5 P. M. again, but the road was the same, now on the sea-shore, now on the cliffs above it: the same landscape, underwoods, and plants, — monotonous enough, but the soil was rich.

At about every two hours' interval we passed a rather considerable village, and we encamped in a fisherman's hut, about 9 P. M., having gone at least forty miles, westerly and south-westerly.

The next morning at 4 A. M. we pushed on the same course; but went some few miles inland, not seeing much of the sea till we reached a large river and clean town. The river was very rapid and much flooded.

My Chinaman swam across it on horseback, and was carried below some distance. I waited for a boat, and so did the others, but it was a difficult

passage. The horses all swam over excellently; but it took us more than an hour to pass this stream, as the boat only held two persons, being a hollow trunk of a tree, managed cleverly by an old dwarf.

Here we halted about 9 A. M. for breakfast, and then came on a beautiful valley, rich and cultivated; the soil red loam. I dare say I could see thirty miles ahead. Some high mountains bounded the valley, and all was green.

We found here some pines and oak, and very high rushes,—a capital place for a wild boar or a bear. They say that there are a great number of the latter in these countries.

I met with quail, landrail, pigeons (bronze winged), a kind of partridge, two woodcocks, and some snipe. The heron and a few wild-fowl were in the marshes and watercourses.

At 2 P. M. we retraced our steps, passing over the same ground, and I took my boat again at Yenanai, arriving at Hakodate as the clock chimed 10 on Monday the 30th.

We had travelled a long way, probably fifty miles; but it takes a good day to go from Hakodate to Yenanai by land, and only two hours by sea.

I beg to enclose you a very rough chart of my three journeys. On the 16th, after the "fête de l'empereur," I am going with Mrs. Albrecht, my

wife and child, to Cape Yezan. We shall then have seen all in this neighbourhood.

The interior of Japan is unknown to the natives, officials or private. Bear and deer are the landlords and tenants.

You will be astonished to hear that I have found the red currant growing wild here. I have preserved a specimen.

To Rutherford Alcock, Esq., Jedo.

FOURTH EXCURSION.

British Consulate, Hakodate,
August 27, 1860.

My dear Sir,

I must now send you some account of my fourth and, probably, my last journey inland, which in many respects has been the most interesting.

I started with Mrs. Hodgson, Madame Albrecht, and my daughter, accompanied by M. de Nasimoff, an officer attached to the Russian consulate. It was our intention to proceed easterly to Cape Yezan (on the map), and return by the volcano mentioned in my first excursion.

We left at 8 A.M. on the 16th, and, after arranging all at Kamida, proceeded to the sulphur springs, crossing a charming little river with dwarf oak to its banks.

We then, about 10, came on the sea-shore and skirted it for many miles, sometimes mounting on the cliffs and sometimes going a few miles inland. The beach, however, at low water is fine and sandy, and, at every few hundred yards, studded with the fishermen's villages, nets, sea-weed, for drying, and innumerable small boats, not used for fishing always, but collecting the sea-weed also.

Dead sea-weed washed on shore is not used as food, nor for trade, but the whole coast is a dry-salter's establishment. The natives go out in their small boats to the rocks, and with long sticks, to which is attached a piece of iron to serve as a knife, they sever from the rock or bottom of the sea their precious weed. The instrument may be twenty feet long, the blade about eighteen inches; thus:

The pole is of bamboo or light wood.

These fishermen only reside at these villages during six months of the year, and are paid by Hakodate merchants or others. At each village there is a government tax-gatherer, who takes his tithe of all collected in kind, and so also it is with awabee, and erico, and rice, and potatoes, and, I believe, all products. This is the reason, per-

haps, why the government wishes the foreigner to buy all through a custom-house officer, so that the foreigner may not mix too freely with the natives, but buy from it, at vast profits, the divers objects of their collections from the rate-payers.

The amount of sea-weed is really incalculable; from Hakodate to Yenanai, following the shore, it is twenty-two miles in a straight line, but quite sixty miles if we follow the curves of the bays and ups and downs of the land; and every available inch is covered with it. Each day, as the weed is a barometer, it is placed out to dry if the weed is not humid; otherwise it is covered up against the rainy day. I say so much on this weed, as it is a valuable export and edible, and, with rice, constitutes the *cuisine* of my neighbours. It is exported to China, and then sent up to those countries where salt is dear, being lighter as merchandise, and well adapted for cooking.

There are few shells to be seen, but the beach is covered with agates and corallines of very pretty colours, and very elegant sea-weeds and egg-shells, as in the Red Sea, but the horns not so metallic. The sea-weed (edible) was often ten feet long and two feet broad, and some of it had the appearance of beautiful lace, at least an eighth of an inch in thickness when first culled from the bottom of the sea.

Proceeding onwards some few miles, we en-

camped, *sub Dio*, amid willows, dwarf oaks, and bryonia, a stream of some forty yards broad, and, falling into the sea soon after, affording us a meet resting-place.

The breakers here, although it was calm, told us what might be expected from a strong south-east wind, and the currents and tide ripples were very marked, five to six miles an hour.

We passed over some high and very precipitous hills, trap-rock and basalt, from 1000 to 14,000 feet above the sea, with chestnuts, birch, magnolias, rhododendrons, and some few oak, but nothing remarkable. At high water there is no passage by the shore, and the higher route is dangerous for ladies.

We slept at Sirakoubi, a small village, where the master was very civil and his accommodation very cheap.

The next day we proceeded at 8 A.M. in an easterly direction, and ascended a hill at least 1600 feet high, winding our course up it. Some of our horses proved unruly; and one particularly, charged with beer and claret, most unreasonably took it into his head to roll, whereby our bottles scampered down the hill, and it was pleasant to see the spray dashing over the breakers while we were all longing for a draught. Here we observed the heads of all the trees rounded off to the north-west, showing the strong gales to come from the

south-east; and up the valleys more than half the trees were as the forest betwixt Grindenwald and Lauterbrunnen, trunks blasted, trees dying or dead. The blasts of wind here must be terrible, yet all the underwood is green.

As we came down again to the sea we found the beach very rocky, so we mounted a second hill with dangerous ravines, about 1200 feet deep, covered with ferns, where horse and cattle browsed pleasantly.

Thence we saw Cape Yezan and lost sight of dear Hakodate. The descent was very precipitous; everybody had to dismount; but we found at every few hundred yards a nice bench with a fine sea view, whereon to rest; proving that the Japanese, when tired, rejoice also in the beautiful.

There was nothing very remarkable betwixt this and Sirouey, where we arrived about noon, and found a comfortable breakfast in a fisherman's hut. Fortunately we had taken Mr. Feltoe's preserved meats with us, with some live fowls and vegetables; for though on the sea-shore we could obtain no fish of any kind, but any amount of sea-weed and rice, which our ladies did not vastly approve of, and pronounced inferior to Véry's *cuisine*, and yet they are not very difficult to please.

But here our "anima candidior," as Maro has

it, overtook us in the person of Dr. Albrecht, and we set to work with good appetite, having still six hours' ride before us.

Mr. de Nasimoff's horse, not accustomed to kindness, had "betrayed his master;" for to ease him in his descent, he had, "not wisely, but too well," got off his animal, which immediately profited of this unusual liberty by scampering down the mountain with all the elasticity of juvenile freedom.

We all immediately determined to be more just for the future.

After breakfast we mounted another hill about 1600 feet high; and from the beauty of the scenery and a terraced umbrageous ride on the top or back of the hill with valleys below, higher mountains to the north and north-west, rivulets, sources, and the grand Pacific to the east and south-east, we held a council of peace, and the spot was unanimously baptised "La Suisse Japonoise," in opposition to "La Suisse Saxe" in Fatherland.

Here was a shady grove for poets and philosophers,—sycamores, oaks, chestnuts, silver birch, alder, hazel, prune, guelder rose, rose, rhododendron, rosemary, leontodon, vicias. Numberless leguminosæ, the mimosa sensitiva, were there, with all Flora's unknown attendants to wait upon and welcome us.

From the unknown I requested my well-known friends to procure me their names and their addresses. They gave me their cards, the dear things, in the form of dried specimens, but referred me to their godfather, Sir W. Hooker, for their names.

This was a dangerous pass, for often below one, and only a small, narrow bridle path, not too well made or kept up perpendicularly at 1600 feet, the glassy sea broke into spray and seemed to request the pleasure of our company, but we were engaged at "Yedenai" for dinner.

Twice we passed some rocks, each time three in number, about fifty feet high, abutting into the sea, and white from their long being inhabited by birds. One batch resembled the "Needles," the other three old molar teeth of an elephant; either batch extended two thirds of a mile into the sea due south.

Descending this hill we came on a dark black sand which attracted our attention. This was very heavy, and we all declared it to contain iron. We were not astonished then soon to see a large building which proved to be an iron-foundry.

The Japanese do not work these mines, but are content with cleansing the sand which is washed down from the mountains, and the result is productive to them. I have no doubt but that the ore in the mountains is rich.

Not far from this we also remarked a great quantity of quartz, and on it I detected gold; but even with gold and iron around us we had no time to spare; for the ladies were tired, and, to say the truth, so were the gentlemen.

So onward was the cry. Hurrah for Yedenai! which we reached about sundown; and I found my Chinamen had arranged us a nice room and feast, oxtail soup, salmon, ham, snipe, chicken, omelette aux fines herbes, pommes-de-terre à la maître d'hôtel, cucumbers, French beans, plum pudding, rice pudding, dessert, *et tout au naturel*, under a bower of rushes and flowers.

Our butler was absent, looking after the broken bottles, but tea and coffee were relished. I give this *menu* to show you, my dear Sir, that the Japanese, even at Yedenai, live well, but I longed for a vulgar dish, — a leg of mutton and some greens! Preserved meats are better than sea-weed only by a trifle.

Like my friend Horatius Flaccus, I went to bed early, for to-morrow was to be our great day. At 9 A.M. we started to ascend the volcano. All the old women, and some men too, begged us by prayers not to attempt it, as the Deity would be offended, especially if we went on horseback.

I am sorry to say we could not heed their prayers or held up hands, so on we went, although

it was very foggy. We passed a temple where a celebrated saint had vegetated during 300 years in happy solitude, and whose grey hairs are reported to have been as long as a comet's tail. We inquired for the worthy saint, but he was "non est;" he had gone out for the day; so we gently followed a footpath through a treeless but not flowerless valley, and mounted the first tier of ranges. The mist was very cold already, and flew along at a fearful pace; indeed it wanted some courage to go on, but on we went, and came suddenly on a limpid stream, whose bed seemed like malachite or an emerald. Already we were in the kingdoms of Faust, Manfred, and Mephistopheles; we sniffed their wicked and unearthly actions, and found ourselves at 11 A.M. at the foot of the volcano.

Here the Japanese refused to go farther, until "cerebrosus prosilit unus," and cried out "go on." There was a devil above whom they had not seen, and an Englishman below they had seen; so we went on horseback some three quarters of a mile further, when it was evident the horses could go no further: the soft and brittle crust gave in, and below was a precipice of 1000 feet at least. So ladies' feet trod the arid and even burning soil, and I went back with all the horses to prepare breakfast for their return.

The party returned to the camp I had made for them, in an hour. We had that famous stand-bye, a good ham, three fowls, sardines, bread and tea. Their demoniac mightinesses sent us sulphur for salt and alum for pepper, but they did not even then spoil our appetites.

Leaving the ladies to repose under macintoshes, and guarded by trusty Chinamen, whose long tails created great amusement to others and pleasure to their amour-propre, even amidst the Cyclops of Siro-Yama, we again mounted the volcano as it was clearer, and well were we repaid.

A steamer sending off its steam, a railway engine blowing signals, could not have done it better. We mounted several hundred feet and found a warm "alum" bath 125° of heat (my thermometer went no higher), with particles of alum encrusted, or still growing from the steam sent out of the bowels of the earth. I traced copper also there. Into this bath all our Japanese jumped incontinently, as Froissart says, and enjoyed themselves much.

We pursued our discoveries and found soap-stone, pumice-stone, an excellent clayey sand for porcelain, and then came on a "field of gold."

Henry VIII. and Wolsey would have given the pontifical ring for it! gold! gold! gold!

Quocunque aspicias nihil est nisi Volcan et aurum.

Out came the steam from the mouths of fifty outraged furnaces whose maiden decency we had attacked. We tried to caress them, but their "bouches" refused our tenderest appeal; so down we sat, and after lighting our pipes at His Sulphuric Majesty's palace, we loaded our guns (brought only for bears and salamanders) and discharged innumerable volleys to the honour of our Sovereigns. At this demonstration His Sulphuric Majesty's subjects, visionary personages, and only recognisable by the echoes and uproar they made, each time we fired, got very irate, and told us to be off.

As we were few in number, MM. Albrecht, de Nasimoff and myself, with two Japanese servants, we thought it prudent to do so; but before going we took away some specimens of pure sulphur, alum, and lava.

We found the ladies fast asleep, and whilst so occupied, I passed my time in digging up some rhododendrons and heaths, with a tomahawk, for Sir W. Hooker. I have two more cases for Kew Gardens.

Please, remember, that my arms, and those of my companions, were only in defence of our persons against bears, and carried by Japanese, at

their earnest request each time. We all returned tired on the 20th, late at night.

To Rutherford Alcock, Esq., Jedo.

P. S. I am still of opinion that Japan is unknown even to the Japanese: it is, as I said before, a nut, the shell only known.

CHAPTER IV.

NAGASAKI TO YEDO AND HAKODATE.

On Tuesday, the 13th September, 1859, we slept on board the "Highflyer," having been most hospitably received by Captain Shadwell, C. B., who kindly gave my wife his own cabin, although he was at the time suffering intense agony from the wound in his foot received at our attack and failure at the Peiho.

By-the-by, to give an instance of the celerity with which news can be on occasions transmitted in Japan, it may be mentioned that, early in July, when I first received news of that disaster, I thought it expedient to inform the Governor of the fact, and therefore paid him a visit with that intention. Judge, then, of my surprise, when in return for my candid avowal, I was told by His Excellency that he had already been made aware of the circumstance. How he received the news I never could discover.

The usual post from Nagasaki to Yedo takes about twenty-five days, but an express may go

and return within fourteen days. Between Yedo and Hakodate, the average time was also twenty-five days for the land post; but, when the news of the burning of the Tycoon's palace at Yedo was disseminated throughout the empire, we received at Hakodate, official notice of the calamity on the seventh day after its occurrence. News can travel fast, even in Japan, when the masters require it, for the distance to run, sail, swim, and mount between Yedo and Hakodate is by land 615 miles; and as the straits of Tsugar are to be crossed, many rivers to be breasted, and divers mountains to be ascended, 600 miles in seven days, including delays, is not bad travelling.

At Shanghai I often heard European merchants express their surprise at the rapidity with which news from England reached the native markets; almost as soon as, and I believe sometimes before, the mail. Perhaps these orientals have a telegraph of their own invention, "escargots" for instance.

On the 14th of September we steamed out of Nagasaki, and passing through Van Diemen's straits, sailed and steamed to Kanagowa and Yedo, at which latter place we arrived on the evening of the 21st, and found a Russian and French frigate at anchor about four miles from the forts.

Early the next morning, at 6 A.M., Captain Shadwell kindly sent me on shore with the mails,

and I found all the legation well, if not asleep; so, having delivered my letters to Mr. Alcock, and having accepted his kind invitation to land with my wife and family for breakfast, I pulled off as fast as possible to regain my ship.

On my way I met the launch and boats of H. I. F. Majesty's frigate "Ducheyla," full of marines and sailors; and observing all the men of war dressed out, I was anxious to know the reason.

It appeared that the French treaty was to be ratified at noon; and the boats we had passed contained the guard of honour for Monsieur de Bellecourt: the "allies" were in holiday dress, and fired a salute on the occasion. It was fearfully hot, and Monsieur de Bellecourt, who dined with Mr. Alcock in the evening, although highly pleased with the successful termination of his day's work, was no doubt glad when it was over.

Mr. Alcock most kindly gave us his own rooms, retiring to a modest Swiss châlet on the border of a pretty lake, in which were the largest gold and silver fish that perhaps ever European eye had seen. Some of them were either very tame, very voracious, or very ill-behaved, for no sooner did they see my little girl coming to the edge of the water, than they almost rose from their natural element to grasp and gasp, with open mouths, at the bread,

biscuit, or cake which she was half afraid to offer them.

The garden of the Legation is charming: it is the property of the priests who still occupy part of the Temple; and the avenue from the landing-place up to the house is broad, neat, and lined with a handsome avenue of trees and lovely borders, full of flowers, on each side.

The lake was in front of a large verandah, abutting from the dining-room, drawing-room, and private apartments of Mr. Alcock. Over the lake, to a quiet, shady, yet very magnificent "bosquet," was a narrow but elegant sylvan bridge — and from the extremity of the wood was a lovely view of the sea and suburbs of Yedo. The oak flourished in this British home. All the officers of the "Highflyer," who could obtain leave, came and visited us, and a merry group we formed; for we all become friends very soon in these distant lands, and throw off the cold ceremony (so suitable to cold climates and frigid zones) when cast on our own resources for distraction or amusement.

Can we ever forget our first trip to Nagasaki, Yedo, and Hakodate, ye Sampsons and Highflyers? Who thought of danger? All was excitement, all was new; yet these men, lions when the cannon roars or battle thunders around them, would have taken off their best coat to shield the young child,

or have jumped with joy to be of the slightest service to its mother.

I saw little of Yedo; in fact I may say nothing but mud, of which there is a "quantum sufficit:" for I remember when we pulled off, or rather tried to pull off, that we had to be pushed from behind, like babies in perambulators, on flat-bottomed punts over the slippery soil, then transported from one junk to another, according to the depth of the water, and, at last, after many perils, landed in the arms of the anxious midshipman, whose crew had been already acting as "norimons" or sedan-chairs for the ladies. Thus we gained the "Highflyer."

On the first evening, however, we had a pleasant walk through groves, rice-fields, and verdant valleys, and were delighted with a glimpse at the country round Yedo, which appeared perfectly charming, and well-cultivated; and on the second we paid a visit to Mr. Harris, United States Minister, some in norimons, some on horseback.

We were most kindly received, and had the melancholy satisfaction of making the acquaintance of Mr. Huesken, the amiable, intelligent, and obliging Dutch gentleman whose recent death we have all so much reason to deplore.

Mr. Harris had some musical friends for our amusement. He gave the word, that is, he struck two stones together under the water, in his pic-

turesque little pond, and immediately, as if summoned from the deep, innumerable fishes appeared, silver, bronze, and gold. This was delight to my little child, and to say the truth the sage and wily ministers were children too; they enjoyed the infant's joy, and forgot for a moment the cares of diplomacy.

On leaving the American Legation which, like the British, forms part of a temple, there was an assembly, as in an amphitheatre, tier on tier, such as I have seldom witnessed — not to look at the ministers, not to blind their eyes by gazing on me, the unpolished emerald, but to admire the child, and, perhaps, its mother a little also. It struck me then that the best passport in Japan would be an European pocket baby; only, I feared it would be so often visé'd by either affection or curiosity that it would never arrive at its journey's end. The crowd here, however, was very respectful, and made way for us without any difficulty, but such a flock of true believers was never penned up in that temple court-yard before.

Yedo is distant seventeen miles from Kanagowa by land. The road follows the curves of the bay, is broad and under one long continued avenue of shady trees. At Kawasaki, where the river is crossed in a ferry-boat, and where passports for Yedo are demanded, there is a good

refreshment-room for the foreigners, where tea, rice, grapes, and the fruits of the season are kindly offered. Each legation has, moreover, its depôt here, and the landlady draws a cork as if she had been accustomed to it all her life. The country we pass through between Yedo and Kanagowa is a low level plain, apparently most fertile — sugar-cane, rice fields, pease and wheat. The horses and cattle are tethered, and crop lucerne in semi-circles, and at every few hundred yards is a "saki" house, whence good-natured men and woman issue forth and offer the stranger tea or other refreshment.

To reach Yedo from Kanagowa a foreigner requires the special permission of the minister representing his nation, as by Article II. of our Treaty none but the Diplomatic Agent has the privilege of going beyond the ten "ri," or twenty-four miles, marked out as the limit of our wanderings at any of the open ports.

The permission obtained and the passport granted, the Consul generally requests the Governor to send *two* mounted Yakonins as an escort, and as this favour is rarely refused, there is little difficulty in reaching the capital.

The road, however, is wonderfully crowded with pedestrians, gentlemen and ladies in norimons and chairs, or nobles and grandees on horseback; and as the retainers of these mighty men are

naturally tenacious of their master's importance and rather imperious in their mode of exacting respect for him, such as pushing your horse on one side of the road, making unmistakable signs to you to get out of the way, or using expressions, not unintelligible, but far from polite, it is perhaps prudent to accept this Government escort. Not that a Yakonin would ever draw a sword in defence of a foreigner, were he the minister himself, but would either be the first to run away, "relictâ non bene parmulâ," or perhaps join in the attack himself, and then rush home to report the result, thus quieting suspicion, although he may himself have dealt the death-blow. Certainly, if I were attacked, my first shot would be, if armed at the time, at my own servant.

The whole road from Kanagowa to Yedo is a straggling suburb; and though I had no fear, still I fancy, on the whole, that I observed many a snug little spot well adapted to the purpose of highway robbery or assassination.

Then the sea and tide on one side are so handy, and the rivers and canals so perfectly convenient, that the deed might easily be done, and none but the ocean and the daimio who directed the attack a bit the wiser. The numerous "saki houses" abound with young and impetuous blood; and it requires very little stimulus to whet the nervous anxiety which every two sworded youth

has to try his blade on the person of an inoffensive and generally unarmed European.

I rarely went armed in Japan; for instead of being a preventive, I conceive revolvers to be a provocative. True, that almost every tenth person one meets has either one or two swords, easily drawn, and once drawn not so easily sheathed;—true, one likes to sell one's life dearly, and before being cut up to leave traces of self-defence behind; but I do not think a revolver will save a man whose life has been vowed away, and the undisguised carrying of such a deadly weapon is often considered an open menace or challenge.

A consul does not require arms, for if the prestige of his rank and flag are not sufficient to protect him, his arms will be of little avail. A merchant ought not to carry arms, for no Japanese merchants do so, and as his calling is peace, a revolver at one side and a bowie-knife in the other have more the air of a Mexican robber than a quiet, commerce-seeking "akindo." Perhaps, if I were a merchant, I might think and act differently; but I have no hesitation in saying that when the murder of a foreigner is decided upon, a revolver will not save him.

When a Japanese has been insulted, he assembles his relations, a "conseil de famille" is held, the case is investigated and discussed, and the insult being made manifest, blood must wipe it

away. There is no hurry, no precipitation, but from that moment until the sword is left in a prostrate body, or a limbless trunk is discovered in the street, not an opportunity has been lost of carrying out the decree, and while the unsuspecting victim was least thinking of an attack the treacherous blade has taken his life. This is private vengeance, — discovery is next to impossible.

The murder of an European has hitherto always been attributed to some political cause, and I rather imagine that few, if any, cases can be traced to private vengeance. But it is a singular fact that the presence of a man-of-war, or even a squadron, instead of aweing the Yakonins, or protecting the foreigner, has generally been the moment selected for the perpetration of a crime. A Russian officer and sailor were assassinated when Count Mouravieff and his squadron were in the harbour. Two Dutch captains were cut down when the "Japonitch" and the "Camilla" were off Yukohama. An American was left for dead when the "Camilla" was at Hakodate. Legations are not more respected; for "Dan," Mr. Alcock's Japanese linguist, was run through the body under the very flag of Great Britain. "Nathal," the "garde-drapeau" of Monsieur de Bellecourt, was barbarously cut down; and now Mr. Huesken, Secretary of the United States Legation, has fallen a victim, when on his road

from one legation to another, and under the escort of Japanese government officers.

The Japanese never miss their mark. No precaution is neglected, nothing calculated to ensure success omitted; and as an instance, I may cite the assassination of the Goteiro, or Regent, uncle of the present Tycoon, and therefore one of the highest and most important personages in the empire. His death had been determined upon by the Prince Mito, a rival potentate and relative, and a small armed band of devoted retainers was found ready to sacrifice their lives to realise the will of their chief and lord. The warrant once given, its execution follows surely, if not rapidly, for even the assassins know and feel that they have but the choice of two things on detection, torture and death, or "hari kari."

I do not conceive arms necessary either to ensure safety or prevent an attack, convinced that if life is menaced, the time will be so well chosen that no opportunity for defence will be given. But I think that all foreigners should reside in one common settlement, where unity would give strength and mutual protection, and mutual interests would be a grand inducement to maintain order and peace.

The Chinese police system, as practised at Shanghae, might well be tried in Japan, and would be of good service to the foreign com-

munity and the Consuls; I have no faith in a native police of Japanese Yakonins! why it would be a second edition of the Janissaries!

The Japanese are generally considered treacherous. I have not discovered this; but I believe that nearly all the assassinations attempted and actually committed, have been done without the least warning, that the blow has never been given face to face, but always from behind, or sideways, and that every person, high or low, will try to screen the murderer, and assist in his escape; but this is clannism, or fanaticism, not treachery.

The sword left in the body of poor "Dan," would have led in any other country to the discovery of the murderer, but at Yedo no real attempt was made. Excuses were offered, regrets to any amount expressed, but although the surest, plainest, and most unexceptionable evidence in Japan was offered and given, viz. the man's own sword, with his mark upon it, which of itself was quite sufficient to identify him before the Courts of his country (as a sword is an arm never lent to another), still, with this unquestionable proof before them, the servant of one of the foreign ministers was assassinated under the very flag of the Embassy, and no sincere attempt ever made to discover the assassin.

If murders are committed, and the authors not

only protected, but perhaps secretly encouraged, life will be indeed unsafe, and it will then behove the respective governments of each treaty-having nation, to consider what effectual steps should be taken to secure the lives and property of their countrymen, without wounding the pride of the Daimios, or humbling the tottering authority of the Tycoon and his party.

There is, I fear, every prospect of a civil war, sooner or later, breaking out in these distant isles. Two parties are violently opposed to each other, corresponding very much with our great Liberal and Conservative factions; with this difference, that they are armed not only with the sharp sword of eloquence, but the still more unscrupulous and deadly weapons of immediate vengeance. One is favourable to, the other is opposed to foreigners; one is for the present Siegoon or Tycoon; the other, under Prince Mito, is endeavouring to do all it possibly can to dethrone him. The Liberals are for maintaining treaty; the Conservatives desire the expulsion of the foreigner, and a relapse into their pristine isolation.

But this now will be difficult; for there are two rather important interests to consult: the "vox populi," and the foreigners themselves.

The "vox populi" a very few years ago was nought, but times are changed. To-day I fancy there is a spirit of radicalism rising up, which

has even taken considerable root, and which the Conservatives view with undisguised jealousy and unmeasurable disgust. Intercourse with the strangers has not taught the merchants and people to continue their implicit and blind confidence in their chiefs; has not increased their former humility; has not convinced them that their once revered laws and customs are the best, noblest, or only ones in the world. There are a few little modern words, never known to them before, which have found their way into their ancient vocabulary — free, freedom, liberty! Their intercourse with five of the most powerful nations of the West has induced them to reflect, and consider their social condition; and I think, although at the signing of the Treaties, they might have been indifferent, if not directly and angrily opposed to the half-extorted innovation (as destructive of their boasted contentment, peace, and quiet), that now, when they have seen for themselves the liberty we enjoy, the use and abuse we make of it, the terms of equality and familiarity we all live upon, they have taken such a liking to these new elements of a more liberal government that they would be very sorry to see us go away, fearful of a relapse, which might be more than fatal to their new rising hopes.

However unpopular, I repeat, the signing of the first Treaties may have been with the merchants

and people, the names, the deeds, the arts, sciences, products, manners, principles, and even thoughts of the foreigner have been marked, discussed, noted, and so greedily devoured and propagated, that I conclude it would be difficult if not a dangerous matter for the old Government even to attempt again to screw down the rising spirit of the people. They would have preferred living without us at first, but now, having known us, with all our defects and vices, they would desire to profit by the acquaintance to their own social and political advantage.

The Daimios know this — the once all-powerful Yakonins feel it, and tremble at the thought of losing their former almost despotic power. The merchants who, at the commencement of our intercourse with them, sold only the cast-off goods of the princes, and acted as their immediate brokers (for nearly every prince at Yedo had his agent at Yukohama), now find that they can make money for themselves. They have discovered also that money has great weight, that it works wonders, that it can raise a man from his humble position to two-sworded dignity — that, although prices may have doubled, the profits are still proportionately enormous; and, in fact, that the foreigners generally are greater men than they even imagined them to be.

Why should not a Japanese "Akindo," they

may reason, enjoy the same privileges, and taste the same sweets, that a despised foreigner apparently enjoys? Why not ride on horseback like a Daimio? Why not wear two swords as a low Yakonin? Why not have a château in the country, a town-house at Yedo, and an office in the city? Why not have a daily newspaper to report upon the acts of Government? and last, not least, why not have liberty of reading other books than our own, and choosing, if preferable, another religion? Why are all these things debarred us?

The Government knows that these ideas are not singular. The Daimios urge the Government to crush them; even the priests see with alarm a probable diminution of their perquisites, and the Yakonins find daily food to fan the jealous ire of their superiors.

The Treaty Powers have also a word to say on the matter. They have the merchants and their commerce to protect; and however loth any Western Government would be to resort to force, when nearly all the errors committed have been committed by their "nationaux"; still the Treaty has been signed on the strength of it, enterprise has braved all danger, enormous interests are at stake, a trial has been made, and the result is that the trade is too lucrative and the advantages too palpable to admit of a retreat.

I have said that the Japanese are clever: I still think so; and I believe that the Japanese Government has in no case directly violated the Treaty, however little it may have encouraged, or however much it may have opposed its working. It was, it is daily more and more unpopular with the majority of princes; and yet, with the exception of eternal delays, prevarications, equivocations, promises rarely fulfilled, every possible impediment thrown in our way, at every step, by the custom-house or other officers, to prevent free intercourse and trade, and unceasing attempts to disgust us with Japan generally, I do not think a single case of a direct and open infraction of the Treaty can be proved against the Japanese Government.

The murders are all disavowed. If they were ordered by the Government, no minister or consul has yet been able to bring a single case home to it: therefore where there is no evidence, there can be no condemnation: although it may be unquestionably charged with want of zeal in detection and scanty aid in time of trouble. The money question, even if the Japanese Government did at first request, through the foreign Consuls, that each applicant should specify the amount he required to be exchanged, it never expected a silver typhoon to sink its treasury on false sands; but rather hoped for a gradually rising breeze to

fill the sails of enterprise, so that each might be satisfied.

The Government had enemies at home to quiet, and unknown friends at the open ports to satisfy. Their task was no easy one: immediate concession and civil war, procrastination and the natural result of commercial intercourse — which was the best? which the surest policy?

The popular voice and the interests of the foreign community will, no doubt, for the future find representatives and supporters in the Gōrrōgio.

While at Yedo I was honoured by Monsieur Duchesne de Bellecourt, Chargé d'Affaires de S. M. I. l'Empereur des Français, requesting me to act as French Consul, Chargé de la Protection des Intérêts Français at Hakodate, and by the kind permission of Mr. Alcock, I was allowed to accept his gracious offer.

Mr. Alcock having determined on installing me himself at Hakodate, and having but little time to spare, our stay at Yedo was short. We saw, however, enough of it to wish to see more, and regretted our early departure.

We left Kanagowa for Yezo (still on board Her Majesty's ship "Highflyer") on the 27th of September, after a pleasant day with Captain Howard Vyse, Her Majesty's Consul, and purchasing sundry trifles from the civil shopkeepers of Yukohama.

The "Highflyer" arrived at Hakodate on the 5th of October, late at night; and early the next morning Government officers came on board, speaking, to our great surprise, not Dutch, but very decent English. They came to welcome us on our arrival, on the part of the Governor, and brought presents of fish (fine salmon) and eggs for Mr. Alcock. Mr. Alcock sent a letter by them to His Excellency, requesting an interview for the morrow at noon.

At noon, therefore, the Consul-General and those he had invited landed at the Custom-house, whither Captain Shadwell had already sent his band with a party of marines and sailors, to escort him.

To the well-known air of the "British Grenadiers" we marched through the crowded streets, and were received by Tchūda Omĭnō Kami, the kind old Governor, accompanied by a numerous suite of superior officers, at the vestibule of his château.

I took a fancy to the old man at once, and after a year's intimate acquaintance I found that the more I saw him the more I liked him. He must have been nearly seventy, but still a stout, hale, and intelligent gentleman.

The presence of the Consul-General caused great astonishment, and the Governor was no doubt gratified by such an unexpected visit; but,

as at Nagasaki, the first visit was simply a visit of ceremony, although all our party was in full uniform.

The reception was much kinder, the welcome much warmer, than what I had experienced at Nagasaki. It is true we had on board several thousand itzabous, sent direct from the capital to the Governor (for the first time, probably, in the annals of Japanese history), and letters or rather official dispatches.

These were important innovations, very important politically, as they showed an advance in foreign diplomacy and an unprecedented confidence in the foreign official, inasmuch as treasure or dispatches had never before been entrusted to foreigners, and there were not wanting some genial spirits to declare that the letters were simply a trial of good faith, and that they were only blank paper; but there was no doubt about the money, for the Governor, I think, gave a receipt for the sum — 40,000 itzabous.

We had a charming feast in the room which, in a few days later, was to be Mrs. Hodgson's bedroom for a year or so. After the repast, at the suggestion of Lieutenant Smith, Mr. Alcock proposed to the Governor that the band should enliven the interview a little with its martial strains. "Tăkăzōn ȳōȳ, ălĕgātŏ," "very good," "thank you;" and "Annie Laurie," "Ye Banks

and Braes," "God save the Queen," had a wonderful effect, His Excellency admitting that he had never heard such music in his life, beating time and nodding to each tune as if he thoroughly enjoyed it.

The band played in the Temple garden; but all around, through the fences, under the fences and over them, in the trees and on the roof, there was a crowd, such as no prima donna ever saw at the moment of her greatest triumph. The great "Bougnio" sat in state, the Vice-governor, and all the grand officials were sitting or standing around him, and the usual army of two-sworded myrmidons were within call; but not even the presence of His Excellency or the sight of his Yakonins could scare away this music-loving people, or prevent them breaking down the sacred hedges of Bonze Sama's holy garden.

This interview lasted several hours and was very satisfactory, as the Governor seemed to be desirous of doing all he could; so, after fixing an hour for business on the next day, we took our leave of His Excellency and went on board as we had landed.

Her Majesty's ships "Actæon" and "Dove" unexpectedly arrived on the 9th from the Gulf of Tartary; and no doubt their appearance simultaneously with the "Highflyer" must have ap-

peared a preconcerted arrangement to the great men of Hakodate.

The Governor returned our visit on board the "Highflyer," and was saluted with seventeen guns, and after tedious but not by any means violent discussions during the first four days, a temple which had been prepared for the Governor (expected daily to return from his tour of inspection), was kindly given up for the use of the Consulate.

Several other local matters were discussed by His Excellency and Mr. Alcock. Every interview was pleasant, and every demand which the Governor had the power of granting without reference to the capital was generally granted after explanation: they parted on excellent terms.

On the 15th, therefore, having the day previously landed all my live and dead stock, I hoisted the British flag at noon exactly. A royal salute from the "Highflyer" immediately welcomed the stranger's appearance, and I was formally established in my new domicile. The "Highflyer" left for Yedo the next day; and the "Actæon" with her "Dove," sailed on the 19th.

The weather was still fine, but we experienced a great change. On the 14th September the thermometer reached at Nagasaki 84°. On the 14th October at Hakodate, it showed only 54°; and the first snow fell on the 24th, having just

kept off long enough to allow us time to make ourselves comfortable.

The American and Russian Consulates were in adjacent temples on either side of and close to us, and we were well screened from the gaze of the vulgar by a good high fence and strong gates. The Governor, moreover, lent me three Yakonins, so that no one could enter the Consulate without their permission. But much as I liked Sūsŭkĭ, Mĭăgōwă and Iscoū, I was soon obliged to part with them, as I discovered that they not only levied black mail on all things introduced for sale by the natives, but were also faithful reporters of everything that occurred, however trifling, within the precincts of the Consulate. The name of any visitor, how long he remained, how and when he was received, were noted down with due punctuality; what vegetables, eggs, salt, or other domestic comforts were purchased, and the price of each article, was minutely inscribed; in fact, how many pipes or cigars I smoked, how often I coughed or dipped my pen in the inkstand; all and everything was the object of the closest *espionnage*, and no doubt, within the paper screens of the gubernatorial sanctuary, the subject of serious and important conversation. The Japanese, from the greatest to the least, use (I have before observed) their thin paper for pocket-handkerchiefs; no doubt my extravagance was duly re-

marked. I found out, moreover, that the three Yakonins of my brave army prevented the merchants, green-grocers, or other vendors from coming into the Consulate unless it pleased them. Free intercourse was not to come in upon us like a clap of thunder; it was to be announced by clouds and lightnings, to dawn upon us slowly and by degrees, so that we might be awed by the discovery of its value, and the better able to appreciate it, when it should burst upon us unchecked and unfettered; but this did not occur in my time.

Hakodate, situated in lat. 41° 40″ N. and long. 141° 15″ E., was a few years ago a poor insignificant fishing village, belonging to the Prince of Matsumai. In 1854 it was ceded to the Tycoon for a consideration, so that the Americans and Russians might at last have the port of refuge which they were unceasingly demanding. Whalers would often put in there for water and potatoes, and Russian men-of-war found there a safe and good anchorage. A British squadron visited it and obtained supplies when on its celebrated and ever-to-be-remembered cruise after the "Diana" and her consorts. A French squadron also, about the same time, sought shelter and provisions within its bay, and obtained, if I remember well, stores and other necessaries to the amount of some 2000 dollars, for which no money was

allowed to be taken at the time, but a statement of the loan, with every item supplied, was most precisely and accurately made out, and after having been signed by the French commander, forwarded in duplicate to Yedo.*

The fishermen of Yezo were kind but not hospitable; for both the British and French squadrons were politely informed, after they had received their stores and water, that Hakodate was a neutral port, and that as the ice closed in very early towards Caster's Bay, it would be advisable for them to sail at once in search of their foe, if they wished particularly to find him, more especially as the continual sight of such mighty ships in the harbour very much frightened the nerves of their wives and little ones.

The hint was taken, I believe; but at the time it was not relished, nor was it always admitted; but I think there is no doubt that the commanders of both squadrons were quietly informed that they had better depart, for the typhoons were very dangerous, and the natives terrible wreckers.

The convention between Her Majesty and the Emperor of Japan, signed at Nagasaki October 14th, 1854, and ratified October 9th, 1855, opened Hakodate to British ships for the purposes of effecting repairs, obtaining fresh water and other

* This money has since been repaid with the thanks of the French Government.

supplies which they may absolutely want for the use of the ships, but not for commerce. The Americans and Russians soon became frequent visitors, and at Hakodate, in 1854, an American commercial agent was installed, not for commerce, but solely for the protection of the whalers who visited the port.

In 1858 the Russian Consulate was established; but on my arrival in 1859, I found little progress had been made, and that Hakodate, nominally opened, was as hermetically sealed as in the days of the Portuguese.

It will be well, I think, here to introduce the letters of Mrs. Hodgson to her mother, in which she gives her impressions of Japan.

CHAPTER V.

LETTERS OF MRS. HODGSON TO HER MOTHER.

First Letter.

Nagasaki, June 4th, 1859,
H.M.'s steamer "Sampson."

HERE I am at last in Japan, having left Shanghae on the 30th May. After a long voyage of six days we had the pleasure of anchoring in this beautiful bay. We ought not to have been more than three days, but unfortunately the weather was not very favourable, and the rain never ceased falling the whole time; so our poor captain was completely lost in this great Japanese ocean, in which he was cruising for the first time. We were once, I believe, a whole day without actually knowing where we were at all, a pleasant position! The captain was all day anxiously expecting a glimpse of the sun, to take an observation and shape his course to Nagasaki. At last, by careful looking out, we were enabled to steal our way into this port, where we arrived safe and sound.

We are all enchanted with the country, which is most picturesque: encamped in our man-of-war

in the centre of the bay we have a splendid *coup d'œil.*

The country round about us seems very fertile; on every side we are surrounded by high "coteaux," almost meriting the name of mountains, if they were not cultivated to their very summits.

The little houses look like babies' toys, so pretty are they, but yet so little. I have not yet been to see the town, which every one who has seen pronounces to be uninteresting. I am not quite sure what effect I shall produce on these men and women, who are described to me as demi-savages, and must wait awhile before venturing into their streets, which, however, are reported to be of an astonishing cleanliness.

Scarcely had we anchored, when the governor of the town sent a high functionary to pay us a visit, and to assure us of the pleasure our arrival in the port gave him. He was accompanied by other authorities and many attendants, most of whom had two swords in their belts, while a few young boys, carrying emblems of rank, followed upon his heels. These diminutive officers had only one sword, but they wore it proudly.

The chief functionary was a man of a certain age, whose costume is almost indescribable. He had broad silk pantaloons of many colours, a kind of tunic or blouse open in front, and somewhat like a gentleman's dressing-gown, the whole tied

and supported by a large sash of bright-coloured silk, in which he carried his important papers and portfolio with his two swords. On his feet were a pair of straw sandals with short blue socks, in which was a place for the big toe, as it is the custom in Japan, and which fitted the feet like a pair of gloves. His hair was so curiously arranged that I must wait a little time longer before I describe it. None of them wore anything on the head, having for its sole protection a fan with which they ward off the rays of this fearful sun. This fan is, I am told, indispensable. This functionary had with him a Dutch interpreter, the Dutch language being still the only one spoken, or perhaps allowed to be spoken, as yet. Mr. Alcock, who is, as you know, the Consul-General for Japan, gave him a letter for the Governor, and the next morning a second high official returned with the Governor's reply, which was that he would be prepared to receive Mr. Alcock and his suite the next day.

This strange person was bearer also of presents from the Governor; and as I think you could never guess what they were, I will tell you at once. Well, the first article was a little fat, round pig, which naturally made me and the little middies smile; then a basket of white radishes, almost as long as carrots; afterwards another basket of eschalots; and, to conclude, four hundred eggs! well packed up in sawdust. Such was the pre-

sent: you will laugh, as we all did, but it was meant kindly. Some on board were irate, and felt annoyed at the nature of the present, and were vexed at seeing such unclean things on the quarter-deck, but they were all of course received; and, as soon as the Japanese officers had retired, they were offered to the ship's company, who very quickly, and with much pleasure and fun, took them into their own part of the ship. The Governor would not have been particularly flattered if he had known what had been done with his gracious present.

The same day Mr. Hodgson took me, Eva, and Sarah on shore in one of the "Sampson's" boats. It was very foolish of us, perhaps, but we were all desirous of seeing the people and shops. Unfortunately it was a great festival, and many thousands were in the streets. I believe I was the first lady who had been seen in the town,—certainly Eva was the first child,—so the curiosity was excessive, and eventually very distressing. My husband would not turn back at first, thinking the crowd would soon separate, but it was quite the reverse. We got so far that we really did not know what to do, and tried to get into a shop, as I was almost frightened to death, to escape from the multitude of our admirers; but this had no effect. The proprietor, instead of receiving us hospitably, was even brutal, making hideous grimaces, growing pale with fury,

nor would he allow us to remain a minute or view anything in his shop. So we were obliged to make the best of it; and as it was no use being angry with 5000 persons all around us, we determined on going back to the boat as soon as possible. On the way poor Eva began crying; but the brutes only laughed the more, and touched her frock and hat, trying to look at her hair and net, while another man was running by my side lifting my gown and flounces in order to take portraits of them. He ran by my side for several hundred yards, making hideous sketches of us, until we reached the landing-place, when, to our great vexation, we found the boat had left; but the custom-house officers behaved very well, invited us to sit down within their railings, and did their utmost to keep off the mob. This, however, was quite an impossibility even for Japanese officers, who generally can, singly, awe a large assemblage, so anxious were they to see the last of us.

I believed it was only curiosity at first, but am not so sure now, since I have had time to reflect on board. It was a very anxious and painful time for us all, for, as you may well imagine, with such a crowd my husband dared not employ force. We were truly glad, then, to see the "Sampson's" boat returning for us, and I breathed freely only when I found myself on board my good strong ship; consequently, my

first impressions of Nagasaki are far from pleasant. I cannot tell you much of what I saw, but I saw enough to disgust any woman of delicacy, — quite revolting. I could perhaps describe it, but certainly dare not write it.

I must now try and tell you of Mr. Alcock's first visit to the Governor; it was very interesting. At eleven all those invited were *en grande tenue*, and left the ship's side under a salute of thirteen guns to the Consul-General. The captain kindly lent me a boat some time before the party left, (for I do not love, as you know, big or little guns,) and I went close to our future Consulate, whence I saw the boats leave. Captain Hand and my husband were with Mr. Alcock; the others followed in two boats. The rest I give only from hearsay. On reaching the shore the party was received by two officers of the Governor, one with a long halberd, who were to conduct them to the conference room, at the antechamber of which they were met by the Governor, described as an intelligent and not old man, dressed in silks and with wings, as wings are part of the undress uniform. Here Mr. Alcock presented each one of his party, after which ceremony they were ushered into a large and clean room with two rows of tables and seats. They were all immediately supplied with tea on magnificent lacquer trays, then with pipes, and a succession of Japanese dishes composed

of fish, prawns, fowl, rice, a kind of salad with an imitation strawberry in it, bonbons and cake, the whole tastefully arranged. Each of these "mets" was served in fine porcelain cups with covers, and for beverage "saki" of two kinds was poured out in little egg-shell cups.

As this was only a formal visit of ceremony, little official business was done; but the Governor, I was told, had heard that I was on board with my child, and inquired much about us, how our health was, and asked permission to send my little girl some of the feast as a present, which was of course cordially assented to. The reception and repast lasted some hours, and ended by Captain Hand inviting the Governor and his party to return the visit on board the "Sampson" the next day, which invitation was directly accepted. The party returned on board the "Sampson" in much the same way they had left it, excessively fatigued with their long walk, in uniform, under a very hot sun.

This day it was decided by Mr. Alcock to leave my husband in temporary charge of the Consulate, so in the evening we went to visit the temple which was to be my future home. The first thing which I saw on landing was an enormous viper, dead, but the sight of it made me tremble. Eva was busy in examining it. Poor innocence!—the infant without guile regarding her deadly foe!

still writhing and sensitive perhaps of pain, for I was informed that reptiles are never entirely lifeless until the sun has set. I leave for wiser heads to say if this be truth or not. We went over the temple, and met some Government officers, who wanted to lodge us all in one or two rooms; but this could not be accepted, so they gave us, at last, nearly all we thought absolutely necessary. The whole building was in such a state of confusion, that a few days must elapse before I can describe it to you. That same evening we walked over the cemetery, and were surrounded by a not very clean crowd of people, half dressed, who clamorously demanded "bouton cashee," * which we at last found out meant a gilded button: they were delighted to receive the very smallest present, even a pin, and were mad with joy. I was still so little satisfied with this people, from yesterday's excursion and reception in the town, that I had soon enough of them, for it is not pleasant to be followed by a crowd in rags; so I soon left them without seeing much of the country, and returned on board.

According to promise, about noon on the next day we saw a very smartly decorated junk, with flags of various colours, preceded and followed by smaller boats, like little sparrows round a bird of prey, steering towards us to the musical mono-

* Cashee is Malay—"give."

tony of numerous tom-toms. This we were told was the Governor and his suite returning the visit.

I did not witness his arrival on the quarter-deck, as the ladies in Japan are not seen on these public occasions, and it was thought better that I should remain a little while in my cabin, to see the great man, and then go on shore.

I heard, however, and saw from my cabin-window a great deal — the preparation on board the junk before His Excellency mounted the ship's side, then the stentorian voice of the officer on watch ordering the guard of honour to present arms, then some clattering of feet over my head, and down came the whole party (privileged and invited) into the captain's cabin, where they took part in a very elegant collation which had been prepared for them.

I could not believe it was the Governor, because I saw no remarkably outward difference in his dress between himself and his suite. They all, however, wore, what I had not yet seen, wings on their shoulders, to fly up to heaven with on some future day, I suppose, made of a blue and white stiff material. I remarked, also, immediately behind His Excellency, and on his knees, an inferior officer who held within a gloved hand what I might call a sword of state. I heard since, that they visited the ship in all its details, and were most particular in examining the machinery, not

paying great attention to the guns, which astonished me. I saw the beginning of the feast, how each was served, and how His Excellency would not himself commence eating until some of the European company had also something on their plates. Then it was amusing to witness the awkward way they had of holding their forks and knives (no doubt longing for their favourite chopsticks, but feeling too proud to use them before English company), and when at last some of the gentlemen cut up into proper dimensions the fowl or other good things before them on the table, it was amusing to see how they would taste of everything, being not quite sure whether they ought to be eating it. They all appeared most gentlemanly men, and really astonished me by their small hands, neatly dressed hair, and quiet, silent behaviour, so different from what the common people had appeared to me. The Governor and the majority of the guests were excessively moderate in their libations, but there was one jovial-looking person, more communicative than the rest, who seemed to enjoy more than any other the wines of my country, especially the champagne.

What surprised me, also, was to see them smoking betwixt each dish, for on this occasion the captain was good enough to allow it. They all sat at a long distance from the table, afraid, as I imagined, that the hilt of the one sword they wear

might suffer injury. I say one sword, because, although when walking out or on duty they carry two, on entering a dwelling, or as in this case a man-of-war, they take the largest one out of their belt as a compliment, and, with the exception of the Governor, put it in some safe place, and seem to take as much care of it as of a child. They would not permit any one of the officers (who politely volunteered to assist them) to touch these long arms of theirs.

Through the interpreter I heard that the Governor was inquiring after my little girl; and as I was afraid he might soon be asking after me, and I did not wish to see him, and as listeners hear no good of themselves, I beat a retreat. But in passing by the wardroom I observed several minor officials very busily occupied in devouring the good things presented to them, and the wardroom officers succeeding in making themselves most agreeable to their new friends.

He had most kindly brought with him, as he had promised, a present for Eva, viz., a very pretty Japanese doll, nicely dressed up, whose head, arms, and legs had joints and articulations like our own; two boxes covered with "crèpe," one containing a quantity of little buds, tied up at the end with a thin gold wire, which, being undone and put into water, expand into elegant flowers; the second consisting of a dozen little tiny dolls in miniature,

not larger than one's thumb-nail, and a "rouleau" of curious paintings, the colours of which we all admired, but I cannot say much for their proportions, or perspective.

In addition he sent the promised dessert, which was artistically arranged in four thin wooden trays, full of cakes and fruits of many kinds, all made of sugar, painted over with the brightest colours, and which seemed to me very much like the "gâteaux," we find at the "fêtes de village" in France, and which the peasants there purchase. There were some apples with their leaves curiously formed, a winged dragon, a basket full of a kind of chestnut jam, very insipid, and of green colour, the eternal "castera" * cut up in square pieces, which was the only thing of the whole collection eatable, although, the rest was as tempting to Eva as the forbidden fruit in the garden of Eden to her namesake. These four trays therefore shared the same fate as the little piggy and the eschalots.

Leaving both parties to enjoy themselves, and to avoid hearing the seventeen guns which were to greet His Excellency's departure, I went with some of the officers of the "Sampson" to see what preparations were being made at the new Consulate. I was astonished to find in such a short time the progress already made. I could barely have recognised in the improvements of

* Portuguese for cake.

to-day, the disorder of yesterday. Like busy bees, a great number of men were at work, and I was assured that I could enter without delay, which, as the "Sampson" was to sail on the 18th, was agreeable news. Every one seemed most anxious to expedite matters, and from the Consul-General to the middy there was a kindly readiness to help me.

I will shortly describe our house. Its situation is far from beautiful, being on the edge of a low cape, far from the town (which rejoiced me, as I shall see less of the people), surrounded by handsome pines, and having a limited view of the bay. We had in all seven rooms, about eight feet high, and the largest (which is small) is to be office and dining-room; but a very gloomy one, I fear. My own room, which is to be "à ma volonté," either of one or two pieces, as I move the sliding partitions, was light and gay, with an agreeable aspect to the north and the bay. This is to be my bedroom, and every afternoon the drawing-room, for we have the society of two charming young men, who are attached to the Consulate, and are to live with us.

On the whole my first impression was that I should like the place. The priest and his wife were very civil, and tried all in their power to assist us, and as long as the "Sampson" was in sight, I felt I should not be an exile here. There

is to be a room for my maid and Eva, and one room apiece for Dr. Myburgh and Mr. Annesley, then a second office, and a large room, capacious but not clean, which is to be larder, kitchen, and dormitory for the servants.

Whilst the diplomatists were discussing graver matters, I, with the officers of the "Sampson," and some marines kindly lent us, and my own servants, were busily arranging our rustic furniture in this "maisonnette Japonaise;" and with such success, that on Monday the 13th, nine days after our arrival, we were able to sleep on shore. On that same day the British flag in Japan was hoisted by my husband, with three cheers from our loyal community.

My first night is never to be forgotten by me: I had no mosquito curtains, and, besides the noise, the bites of these insects were so painful, and the biters so numerous, thinking, I suppose, that they were feasting for the first time on what they were unaccustomed to, and were therefore determined to make the best of their opportunity, that I never could close my eyes, and when I got up in the morning, more tired than when I went to bed, my face was such a perfect horror that for three days I saw nobody. Eva suffered as much, and was very angry at it, for she said: "I did not bargain for that in Japan." The "Sampson" left us last evening (Monday the 20th) at

5 P.M., and we all felt very lonely; but as a ship sails to-day with our letters for Shanghae, I conclude this diary, hoping soon to send the "suite."

Adieu, et à bientôt un second numéro.

Second Letter.

30th June, 1859.

Of course I cannot write to you about business, but there is plenty of talking going on, and the Japanese officials spend at least half of every day here, coming in at all times, disturbing us at breakfast and dinner, and even remaining till ten o'clock. The conversation appears often very animated (for I cannot help hearing all), and the patience of the Consul and his interpreter must be sorely tried; for when they fondly indulge themselves in the idea that all is terminated, they find the whole matter is to be discussed again. Moreover, all this business has to be done through a Dutch and Japanese interpreter, acting or speaking for the Consul and the officials.

I have more than I can do, for the heat is intense, day and night, and the rain such as I have never witnessed,—incessant, and so violent that really we cannot hear one another speak in the same room. The thermometer is often above 80° Fahrenheit, day and night, so of course it is im-

possible to go out, which annoys me considerably, as I am anxious to see a little of the country in our immediate neighbourhood, to examine the camelia trees, which are gigantic by report, and to pick the makings of a cup of Japanese tea from the hedge-rows. In place of that, I have to fan myself on my sofa, refreshed by the pleasant idea that all my nice dresses from Paris, and nearly all my linen, shoes, and fineries, are becoming mouldy and spoiled by the fearful damp, and warm disagreeable steam, which the earth is generous enough to emit to add to my agreeable situation.

As little *entr'actes*, when I rise in the morning I have to look very carefully where I place my feet, because yesterday, having had such a warm night, I wished for a little fresh cool air in the morning, to enable me to go through the day, and accordingly had my windows opened. Imagine, then, my terror and disgust, when, on rising from my bed, I was about to touch the mat with my feet, and I saw a—what do you think?—a vile reptile, a detestable serpent within a few inches of me! I shrieked for aid, but was not otherwise very much frightened, having already had opportunity of making the acquaintance of these new friends, but it was a pleasant "bouquet du matin." My maid heard my cry, and summoned one of the Japanese to the rescue. The servant caught the snake, but would not kill it; and I could not tell

at the time the reason of his sparing its life, but I remember being very angry with him, for I feared that the horrid wretch would pay me a second "matinale visite."

Another day, while criticising some Japanese pictures in my drawing-room, I heard the sound of something falling close to me. Rather alive to the visit of unpleasant guests, I looked whence the sound came, and beheld a really prodigious and ugly round mass gently unrolling its folds. This was another serpent, which had fallen from the roof; and it reminded me too painfully that I was to expect visitors from above as well as below. Before I could hail any one it was gone, after silently looking at me, as much as to say, "I will call again." And it kept its promise; for a few evenings after, as my maid was putting Eva to bed, within her little paper window, close to her head, this terrible creature glided forth and again escaped. Every evening it was seen poking its ugly head out of its earthy hole, but we never could manage to kill it. It was evidently protected by the gods of the temple. To finish with those reptiles, I could never walk out without fear of meeting them, and had always to look well before I placed my foot on the narrow pathway.

The centipedes also are my constant and assiduous "admirateurs." One evening I was playing at "trente et un," with some friends, and was

rejoicing at my good luck, when one of the gentlemen suddenly rose from his seat, and, without saying a word, most impertinently, as I thought, struck me a heavy blow on the shoulder. Before I had time to ask any questions, he told me "not to be afraid, for it was only an insect;" but it required the hearty blow of a good sword to exterminate and destroy a very large and thick mailed centipede, which was crawling up my white muslin dress, and would soon have found a road over my neck and shoulders. This was agreeable!

A few nights after this, whilst on my knees saying my prayers, I saw close to me another vile creature of the same family, but larger still. I was the only one awake in the house, and not knowing what to do, determined not to sleep with such a neighbour in my chamber. I therefore seized a sword hanging close to my bed (a precaution which it is unfortunately thought necessary to adopt here), and after repeated blows, which I gave, almost fainting with fear and horror at what I was doing, I managed to sacrifice it to my vengeance.

I could mention numberless other cases where these visitors appeared to us, — in my sponges, in my dresses, boots, and shoes, under my pillow, —but I will say no more, lest I horrify you as much as I was myself horrified. I never went to

bed without making a most minute inspection of everything.

Four-footed animals gave us nightly entertainment, not of the most musical sort. Rats, as huge as cats, danced and squeaked over my head, either for their own amusement or to escape the pursuit of wild ferrets. Very often have I been awakened at night by fear, thinking the noise was caused by ghosts or some unearthly visitors, and it required some considerable time to accustom myself to these nocturnal orgies. They even deigned on more than one occasion to violate the thin "barrière" of gauze which separated them from myself, and came far too close to me to pay me their respects. Often I fancied, as I lay awake, that they were pursued by snakes, and this did not make my mind more easy or my slumbers more profound.

But the great day has arrived, the 1st of July, 1859. Whilst the Consul and interpreter are gone to confer with the Governor, the other members of the Consulate are awaiting the noon gun of the American corvette "Germantown" to fire a salute of twenty-one musket-shots! The scene is to take place in front of my drawing-room, and so I have to take refuge in the house of the priest. All the Englishmen in harbour hoisted their colours and otherwise decorated their ships. The "Zephyr" fired a royal salute; the "Egmont" followed its example, and for the first time we got

a very limited sight of what Japanese money was made of. A great deal of powder was burnt, not much to my own peculiar gratification, and not vastly, I imagine, to the public benefit; but I suppose it was proper, natural, and loyal to mark the day.

We have been only twice into the town, and then always attended by two Japanese officers and an interpreter, who could with difficulty keep away the crowd from us. The people seem to have nothing to do but follow us, repeating eternally the same word, "ĕpĭōcă," "good," "very good,"—but I was not frightened. At each side of the street there was a dense hedge-row of faces, and as much fuss made to catch a glimpse of myself, Eva, and Sarah, as if I had been the Empress of France arriving in a provincial town. But the crowd on both days was polite, and anxious not to annoy me; and the shopkeepers invited me to enter their "magazins," where all their relations and friends were assembled to examine and pronounce a verdict on my person and dress. They invariably offered me tea, calling it "ōchār," or "His Excellency Tea," so great a respect have they for this refreshing beverage. This great change in their manner was owing to the very stringent orders the Governor had everywhere posted in the town, that I should be treated with every respect; and I believe that it was partly from fear of

offending the Government (which had not then given such freedom), that I was so much annoyed the first day I attempted to lionize the town.

Nobody can imagine the delight my little girl caused both to young and old. Every old woman, and many old men, too, would rush from their shops to admire her; then, half crawling on their knees, rush to give her cakes, cups, and so many presents, that my husband's pockets and the sleeves of the two officers and interpreter could carry no more. I cannot understand as yet why a child has so much attraction with them.

I admired the lacquer more than the silk, and the elegant porcelain even more than the lacquer-ware. I made several purchases, but had to bargain very hard for each article, the merchants not being satisfied with asking us a little more, but trying to obtain four times the value.

The little dogs are ugly in their beauty, but I wished to buy one; the price, however, was so high (5*l.* to 10*l.*), that I was quite discouraged. There were also some dear little tiny birds, as white as snow, with pink beaks, or spotted as the starling with pink beaks also, and a great many canaries, of which we bought several. I did not think anything dear except the dogs, and all was so beautiful that I longed for a ship to take a collection home in.

Every shop had its dear little garden with several trees prettily "taillés," ferns, azalias, fleur-de-lys, and other aquatic plants in a little pond, in the centre of which was often a fountain, and a quantity of gold and silver fish. This pleased me much, for it showed me that they had some refined taste, and that they were not the barbarians I had thought them at first.

Only one little annoyance occurred during our two excursions into town. Returning home the second evening with the same party, I met the Vice-Governor, with a numerous suite of armed men who wanted to make us give up the whole street to His Excellency. Our officers and interpreter also begged us to do so; but my husband, who was in a kind of undress uniform, told the interpreter that he could only give up half the road. The soldiers of the Vice-Governor looked very fierce, but on His Excellency recognising the Consul they all immediately made way. I was rather frightened myself, for the Japanese had been always accustomed to drive the people on one side, even into the mud, when such a grandee passed.

Altogether my first impressions, which were far from favourable to the Japanese, have undergone a considerable change; and I hope when I know more of them I shall like them still better.

The men and women sit in their shops very

much as I observed the men in Alexandria and Cairo are in the habit of sitting, with this difference, that in Egypt there were no women. They were "accroupis" before a square box in the centre of the shop, and in this square box was a charcoal fire, and over this fire was a "bouillotte," continually replenished with boiling water, to make their tea with. The master of the house always takes the same place, and even if he rises to sell his merchandise, or is absent from home, no other person dares occupy his vacant seat. It is his sacredly, as paterfamilias, and his alone. The lady of the house is not so honoured; she may sit wherever there is room, or rather not sit at all, for she is always making the tea or performing some other menial service. The mats of all the shops appeared scrupulously clean, which is explained by the fact that they have shoes for the streets, and sandals for the house, and whenever one enters a shop or house the shoes are left at the door and the sandals substituted.

Altogether the interiors of the few houses and shops I entered were all clean and tidy, and the proprietors with their families neat and decently dressed. I heard many sounds of music, but to my ears they were discordant enough. The only instrument I saw was a kind of guitar, with three strings, called the "bādjīō." Every evening till 10 o'clock, on the waters of the bay, we heard this

eternal concert, accompanied by voices shrill but monotonous.

I hope to know more of Japan at Hakodate; for the "Sampson" has just arrived to take us away, to my unspeakable delight.

The "Sampson" has just received orders to go to "Shanghae" or "Chusan." We were all ready to start to-morrow — everything packed up!

We have to wait the arrival of another man-of-war!

My priestess and I exchanged frequent visits; she was always anxious to oblige me, and delighted whenever I would allow her to see my bracelets, my needles and pins, and embroidery; in fact, any part of my "garderobe" interested her, and she would invite her friends from a distance to come and see these wonders.

The old Bonze would never come without being specially invited, and unless my husband was at home he could not and dare not mount the steps of the house. Like every one else, they ruined themselves by presents of cakes and bonbons to the child.

He invited me and all our party to assist at an evening festival, and placed arm-chairs, borrowed from the Consulate, for all of us. I understood little or nothing, but the interior was brilliantly illuminated by very handsome lanterns of immense size. The old Bonze sat in the centre, now chaunting melodiously, now uttering wild exclamations, to which none of the auditory seemed to pay any attention, so busily engaged were they with their remarks on us. After the service in the church, we went the rounds of the cemetery, which appeared swarming with glow-worms, for on the ground, at the base of the tombstones, in the trees, and, in fact, everywhere, it was possible, lanterns, candles, and joss-sticks were swinging or planted in profusion. Above us was a smaller chapel, dependent on this temple, in the centre of a very handsome grove; this was hung about with firesticks and lanterns, which, as we were below, and they swung to and fro above us, really looked like fireflies in the air; it was quite enchanting.

I found out it was a festival to the memory of the dead; and relations are bound to offer food and water to the manes of the deceased, and to illuminate their resting-places, otherwise the souls would return to earth not only to demand their rights, but to punish the delinquents also.

The coteaux all round the bay are studded with innumerable temples and burial-grounds,

which, of course, were all lighted up for this same occasion, and the effect was lovely; so much so, that the next evening (as the festival lasts three days) we availed ourselves of the most kind offer of Captain Page, U. S. corvette, "Germantown," and accompanied him in his gig all round the bay. The view was perfectly "féerique" and the good captain, remembering he had a family at home, and that we were all exiles, thought only of pleasing us; he lighted up his ship, and caused several rockets and other fireworks to be sent up, much to the delight of my little girl. The effect on the calm bay surrounded by its dark forests was charming.

On our excursion with him we had a splendid opportunity of witnessing as fine a display of oriental illuminations as has been the lot of many, for from the edge of the sea to some of the very highest peaks there was one mass of living fire, of different hues, according to the colours of the lanterns employed; these again were reflected upon the water, and made a beautiful foreground to the spectacle.

Guns, music, shouts and laughter greeted our ears from every quarter, and we returned home, if not edified, at least astonished at what we had seen and heard.

The Dutch commissioner kindly invited me to go and see the end of the feast from his charming

verandah, and explained to me what part in the representation the numerous boats of straw we had all remarked were intended for. These boats actually swarmed on the water; they had been, after certain ceremonies, launched, elegantly decorated, and supplied with "saki," rice, and other eatables to appease the demons of the ocean, hoping that thus the souls of the departed might rest in peace, and that future mariners might escape a watery grave.

I was assured, however, that the "saki," rice, and other eatables on board these fragile barks did not go far on their road to the sea, but that live gods, under the forms of very substantial living beings, and possessing very earthly appetites, were never far off from the shore to pounce upon each little boat before it sank for ever.

This might account, perhaps, for the general hilarity everywhere in the fishermen's quarter.

The festival I have so faintly described is a triennial one, and occurred at Nagasaki, this year, on the 11th of August; but although universal throughout the Japanese islands, it is not always celebrated on the same day, as the gods cannot be supposed to be everywhere at the same time. It is their "Jour de Toussaint."

The feast is over: I will now give you some account of our mode of living. At first we were nearly starved; and so we were almost to the last,

for it was impossible to keep mutton half a day, and moreover, the few sheep we had were intended for our winter quarters at Hakodate, where communication with China would be more uncertain, and our means of subsistence comparatively unknown. Nothing could be bought in the market; so my cook, a Chinaman, would sally forth before daylight, and return about nine o'clock with a fish or a fowl, which he had found great difficulty in obtaining. Sometimes, with pride in his eyes, he would solemnly announce to me a great victory, that he had succeeded in getting a piece of pork, but when it came on the table it was not fit to eat. Milk and butter were unknown, unless in tins from Europe; eggs, however, were plentiful, and on these we had to live chiefly,—omelette for breakfast, lunch, and dinner!

There was only one good kind of fish, called "Taÿe," very firm, unknown in Europe, I think, and for which the Daimios, even in Yedo, pay very dearly, as our gourmands do in France for salmon and turbot. Curry, of course, was a standing dish, and preserved meats did the rest. For dessert we had flavourless melons, plums like bullets, stone pears, and peaches which required two days' cooking—for all fruit is picked in Japan before it is ripe, not to fatigue the tree. An officer brought me once, as a great present, a basket of plums, the finest he could find in his

garden; they were of the brightest green, pretty to look at, and that was all he thought of.

I have seen so little of Nagasaki, that, with the exception of my two visits to the town, one picnic, two dinners, and a few hours on the water now and then, I was almost a prisoner. The cholera, which was raging here for some time, was another matter of anxiety for me, although few Europeans fell victims to it. Two English sailors were, I think, the only cases, and the coffins for the poor fellows were built in the yard of the Consulate, as it was almost the only place where a carpenter could be then found.

My greatest loss here, or what I have most felt the want of, is my church. I live in a temple; but what sort of a temple! I trust I shall be more fortunate in Hakodate, and I hear it is likely.

CHAPTER VI.

SPIRITUAL GOVERNMENT AND PRIESTS.

As the Mikado and his Dairi possess the spiritual, and most ancient power in Japanese mythology or romance, I will here relate all I know of the spiritual government of the empire and its priesthood, with all its varied hues of Sintooism and Buddhism. The spiritual power is the nominal head of the Japanese empire, in the person of the Mikado. This is so; but as all the priests, who rank as the third civil power in Japan, are more essentially under his immediate authority, it may be best to include them also in my description of this important personage and his powers.

Acting, as it were, as pontiff, this emperor is assisted by a council of cardinals, called the Dairi, who conduct the formal ceremonies betwixt the spiritual and temporal courts, arrange and determine matters of religious dispute, receive the priests and their presents, and live in the lap of effeminate luxury—rarely leaving their beloved "Miako." This pontiff's signature is formally necessary on

any important change of legislation or national interest: the consent of the Dairi was with great difficulty obtained when the first American and English treaties were signed.

All the priests are bound, from Sagahlin to Kagosima, to make a pilgrimage to their celestial chief, and receive from him or his (for he is invisible personally to mortal men) consecration and a blessing. Little is known of this great personage and his court; for it is impossible to reach Miako, and the accounts each foreigner receives, either from a priest, or doctor, although kindly, and to the best of their belief correctly given, differ so much on a comparison of notes, that it is very difficult to find the truth. Even when Osaka and Hiogo shall be opened in 1863, it will be long before we shall become very familiar with these courtly anchorites; for it is expressly stipulated by treaty, with jealous precaution, that Miako is to be respected, and to be inaccessible, the route to it, *viâ Kiōtō*, being interdicted to foreigners.

That there is excellent discipline, however, maintained in their Church I feel sure. There are many sects: one, for example, is allowed to marry and eat meat; a second is not allowed to marry, and moreover eats nothing but rice, vegetables, fish, and bonbons; both sects, however, have a great love for "saki" and foreign wines also, and would do honour to the memory

of Friar Tuck and his boon companions, if they had not to pay for it.

There is in the centre of Niphon a celebrated temple, where tradition narrates that a celestial emperor first descended upon earth and established Sintooism. This spot is the object of much veneration, and the source of considerable emolument indirectly to the Mikado, for pilgrimages from all parts are made to this shrine.

That the priesthood, however, is a very important class, we have merely to refer to the Blue-book of 1860, where we find a circular addressed to the Consuls at Nagasaki, which concludes with this paragraph: "This communication shall be made public through all the empire of Japan, by the governors, princes, and priests."

This would, perhaps, prove that all official edicts are published by the priests, and that therefore they hold the third rank in the scale of Japanese precedence. Outside their temples is generally to be found a large board, on which Government notices are constantly being posted, much as was the case, and is now in a lesser degree, at our parish churches.

In fact, the priesthood act as general agents and newspapers, and by no means confine themselves within the precincts of the temple to devotion, but mingle politics frequently with their ceremonies. Nothing would be easier to insure a

general massacre of all foreigners, than for the priests to receive the order to denounce them. We should know little of it until all was over. As an example, I may mention that the Russian Consul at Hakodate, whose rooms formed part of an adjacent temple, and who, from a long residence in China, was more or less acquainted with the Japanese language, soon after his arrival overheard a most bitter and violent sermon preached to a crowded audience, against the foreigners. The priest in question was of high degree, not of Hakodate, but he had been selected expressly for this purpose. The Consul, however, promptly interfered, represented the matter to the governors, and demanded and obtained the cessation of such discourses, and the dismissal of the priest to his own parish.

The temples are always open. About half-past four daily A.M., the bonze* on duty awakes from his mat, and strikes a clear-sounding metal bell, at the outer porch of the temple for a few minutes, to arouse, first the gods from their slumbers, and then his brother-bonzes from their narrow paper cells. Then begins a long, loud, shrill, and continuous melody of, to us, unintelligible psalmody, which lasts about half an hour, accompanied by tom-toms and well-toned notes from a bass or bronze cymbal,

* "Bonze" means, I believe, a man with a shaven head, as all the priests are.

struck with a round leather hammer. During this time the bonzes are counting their chaplet of eighty-six beads, and appear regardless of everything around them but the duties they are engaged in.

As the *Tĕră* (temple) is always open, worshippers come in and out as they please, taking off their shoes at the vestibule, and either standing or sitting down within the precincts of the house. Their adorations are frequent; more like those of Mussulmen than anything else, and generally three in number; the forehead each time touching the mats, which are scrupulously clean.

I never saw a "quête" publicly made, if I except the congregation throwing in a mass on their mats their cash; but there are so many "troncs" all about the *Tĕră*, of most capacious bulk, that the faithful have little difficulty in finding a receptacle for an offering, generally a few "sapecs," * or cash.

The beggars are always at the door, seated in rows, on mats, waiting for the bounty of the charitable; but if any one passes by these almost legally recognised mendicants without dropping his sapec on the mat, he or she is immediately made aware of the illiberality by some not over-gracious epithet. It is their privilege to receive, and their rights must be maintained: it is but

* "Sapec," or cash, is, or was, the 5200th of a dollar.

just to say, however, that the poor creatures are generally either blind, maimed, or infirm, and accept the obolus of the many with gratitude. On feast days each may collect, perhaps, an "itzabou." * It might astonish a foreigner at first to see a beggar always smoking his pipe; but the pipe is so small, and the tobacco so cheap!—moreover, tobacco to a Japanese is indispensable. On all occasions when I, my little child, or others of the Consulate offered the poor our trifle, it was so well and so kindly received, and the remark of all the lookers-on; but the sapec of the child was worth more than the itzabou of the father. The Japanese love children, and I fully believe my little girl might have gone through Japan like Moore's heroine through Ireland, and have found only kindness, hospitality, and protection on her road.

The next regular service is at 11 A.M., when all the priests assemble, and perform much the same kind of service. There are always a few women and children; but gentlemen or officers are rarely seen, except on feast days, when the crowd from morning to night is never ceasing, and the noise quite terrific. It is astonishing with what precision the bonze strikes the hour; for I have frequently remarked the very slight difference between the time he strikes his bell and the moment either a "man-of-war" fires its gun, or

* A silver piece worth about 1*s.* 8*d.*

the merchant-ship "makes it twelve." At noon the bonzes take their dinner, and a very frugal repast it generally is:

> "No flocks that range the valley free
> To slaughter they condemn," &c. &c.

The chief bonze, or, as he called himself always, "Ōchāu," * often showed me his dinner, which was brought into his private room in a square lacquer box, about eighteen inches high, with five trays to it. In one tray was fish of two or three varieties, in a second vegetables, in a third lentils and peas of different sorts, in a fourth the everlasting Cāstĕră, or sponge-cake, and in the fifth some sweetmeats or bonbons. In addition, the servant, *on his knees always*, presented a bowl of thin soup, more like hot water, in which, perhaps, the fish had been boiled before, and the never-failing chopsticks.

The drawers are then opened and feasted upon, the tit-bits carefully taken out, and placed in the soup-bowl; and then begins the repast, which is seasoned by as many cups of "saki" as the occasion may require. After dinner, a siesta, or a walk in the garden — for the bonzes, like all Japanese, are very fond of their gardens and flowers, to admire his azalias or camelias; then, a large amount of bitter, but, to my taste, agreeable tea, and sundry pipes, until two o'clock,

* This sect is not allowed to eat meat or marry.

when the bell again invites him to prayers, which last nearly half an hour.

The junior bonzes have, in the meantime, congregated on their mats round a charcoal fire, with a large caldron of tea before them, and go through much the same operation as their chief; only he is alone, and they are often twenty in number.

At 4 P.M. the last service takes place, which generally ends with a sermon or lecture, and perhaps at this service Government notices are also proclaimed. The Tĕră is generally fullest at this hour; and, if we may judge by the vehement language of the orator, his earnest gesticulations, and the silence of the audience, he is not only most serious in his opinions, but persuasive in his matter. To keep any from sleeping, or to arouse the gods should they not be listening, at almost every minute he strikes with a hard wooden mallet the desk he is sitting by; the blow produces a great noise, and certainly is anti-soporific.

The bonze is generally seated on his mat; but when he performs this afternoon service he has a raised arm-chair, and a higher table than usual, perhaps two feet six inches high, on which he places his pastoral crook. After this last service, unless on feast days, when the Tĕră is open nearly all the night, the doors are closed until morning.

There is, however, always one priest sleeping in the Tĕră, to feed the gods when they are hungry,

and watch over the relics within.* The gods are fed daily—water, cakes, and fish are placed in a species of "piscina;" but if the idol happens to be a sylvan deity†, the unscrupulous ravens and eagle-hawks incontinently deprive him of his repast. On feast days, the Tērā is, as on the other days, open to every one, but the noise is maddening; and, as feast days are not very rare, this was not one of the least nuisances we had to endure. We at first expected that these orgies (for devotion and prayer end in saki and wantonness) would cease at dark. When dark came, and yet there was no intermission, we still hoped eight o'clock, or ten o'clock, would see the feast at an end. But no! as midnight approached, the voices, if not so sweet, grew louder and more loud, until in the small hours of the morning we gave it up; and, victims of misplaced confidence, endeavoured to make the best of it. It was only when the ladies and gen-

* It is often customary for a whole family to go with their friends and provisions to a temple, and make a long day of it, combining devotion with pleasure. The bonze is supposed to, and ought at all times to perform service for them; but one day a friend of ours, returning on horseback, told us that he met a large party of his disconsolate acquaintance, who had come up with their provisions to pray and play, returning very gravely without having done either. The bonze had refused them the consolation of his prayers, giving as a reason that the gods were gone to see the Mikado at Miako. The fact is, probably, that the bonze was lazy, or had other engagements. The unhappy party had to carry back their provisions and eat them at home.

† Many idols or images are encaged in neat little chapels in pretty little groves.

tlemen could articulate no more that quiet reigned, interrupted even then by profound snoring, or occasional attempts at bacchanalian hilarity. Our "Tĕrăs" are not built of brick or stone — the thickest partition was only a quarter-inch board, with divers interstices; but the far larger portion of our chambers had only a frail separation of paper, like windows and window frames. Therefore we had the pleasure of hearing nearly everything, and certainly much more than we desired. Some of these feasts last for many days; the sweet sleep we enjoyed, therefore, may be more easily imagined than described.

The dresses of the chief bonze and the others are very handsome — "crêpe japonais" of various colours, according to the nature of the service they have to perform. They often look more like women than men, from their long gowns falling loose to the feet, and their long sleeves. Their every-day dress is black, at least that of the inferior class of bonzes, but the higher classes are often most gaudily apparelled, and if when so dressed they are met with, consider it almost an indignity to converse with a Christian. We always avoided our good bonze on these occasions, as he would scarcely then condescend to recognise us, especially when he had his crook and mosquito whip, for with the latter he was either going to drive, or had come from driving, the evil spirits out of the "Tĕră." Yet he was not only our landlord, but friend,

and would come immediately after he had changed his robes to chat familiarly with us.

I remember on one occasion, my wife being present, asking some of our Japanese friends, who were dining with us, how many gods they had. The serious reply was, one for the sea, another for the air, the heavens, the corn, the rain, the snow, the birds, the beasts, the flowers, for man, for women and children, for the dead, and innumerable other objects; and, in fact, that there were so many, it was impossible to number them. In return, I was asked how many gods I had, and when I replied, "One only," they cried out, "How very busy he must be to listen to all of you then! — how can he do it?" I tried to instruct them a little, but as it was not our policy to attempt conversion, and as religious controversy is at present most strictly forbidden, and as every Japanese at a foreigner's house is obliged to be a spy, and report every word each has spoken, I felt myself reluctantly forced to stop the conversation.

The bonzes of my temple prayed much more to the devil, or evil spirits, than to God (for I believe they recognise one superior Deity) or their Good Spirit; and their reason for so doing is "that the Evil One alone does evil and seeks to work harm," consequently "they try to pacify him, and appease his anger; whereas the Good Spirit seeketh to do no harm; in fact, He does nothing but

good, and therefore requires no entreaty and less homage. It would be unjust to accuse *Him* of calamities or misfortunes attributable only to the influence of the Evil Spirit." The whip mentioned above, (much like the *goupillon* used by Roman Catholics at their processions before High Mass,) is nearly a fac-simile of the instrument of correction with which they drive away the demoniacal usurper from their ceremonies to his abode in the volcanic regions of Fusyama or elsewhere.

I have never seen a prayer-wheel used:—I have often turned them myself, but, I fear, only from idle curiosity. They exist, however; and are to be met with at every Tĕră and burial-ground. I have not seen the struggles (mentioned by other writers) of the faithful to send up their easy prayers by means of a few sapecs and a "tourne-broche;" but it is known to be done.

As we meet crosses at every peculiar feature in scenery in Roman Catholic countries, so in Japan also we meet with these prayer-wheels; and attached to each is a "tronc" for the "sapec." At every cemetery they are much used, as the Japanese pay great respect to the memory of their dead, and pray incessantly for the release of the departed one from the grasp of the Evil Spirit. This is not unlike Purgatory.

The Japanese Tĕrăs are generally built by voluntary subscriptions, and the name of each subscriber is written down on some conspicuous

tablet. Some of them are very handsome and extensive, with dragons, lions, serpents, eagles, and other monsters curiously but savagely carved inside and outside the building.

They generally face, I have observed, the north or north-east, and are only found in the most beautiful spots the locality can afford. Wherever a grove of pine, camphor, or other trees is observed, in the centre is sure to be found a Tēră. Running water, or a spring, is another favourite site. On the tops of hills or mountains commanding a view, one is almost certain to meet with a little sylvan temple, and the little stone deity within is decked by the passer-by either with a piece of gaudy rag, or flower, or leaf, or sometimes even regaled with rice, water, or a joss-stick. It is certain that no Tēră is met with which is not in some beautiful spot. Groves are preferred, as by our Druidical forefathers, and the whole building and its vicinity are kept scrupulously neat.

The interior of a Tēră (I describe my own) is generally reached by a flight of steps, through an elaborately carved portico of wood, all the ends, points, and corners of which are protected by copper coatings. Here the shoes or sandals are left, and it often struck me how difficult it must be for the worshipper on his exit to be certain of his own pair — they actually are often in hundreds! The main feature of the interior is a

large square room covered with clean mats, in the centre of which is what we should term an altar, wherein the gods are kept, and all the sacred relics are locked up. There is on the table, which is generally painted dark red and gilded profusely, a little tabernacle containing a god. On the top of it and in the centre of the top is an aureole of gold or silver, and on either side lighted tapers and incense continually burning.

This altar is only entered by the priests, and separated from the rest of the court by a wooden railing. At the two corners of the altar, east and west, are two enormous and very ugly specimens of divinity, in the shape of two fiery dragons, with inflamed eyes, large wings, and red tongues, hideous to look at. It was on the paw of one of these animals that a foreigner once took it into his head to stand, considerably to the vexation and disgust of my bonze, who came to me, in a fearful state, to make a complaint, uttering fearful lamentations.

Outside the rail, at the east and west corners, are two more conspicuous deities, painted deep red and gilded in several places; both had pleasant features. It is within these two last statues, and in front of the altar and rail, that the priests perform their daily ceremonies, having sundry tom-toms and cymbals at hand to help them.

There are many other gods in this room, which

is capable of containing some seven hundred or more persons, and one goddess near the centre, who holds in her arms, pressed to her breast, a smiling-faced boy, with an aureole round his temples: neither mother nor infant have unpleasant countenances.

The ceiling of this room is very splendidly gilt and carved, and is supported by wooden columns six feet apart, and about forty feet high. When lighted up of an evening the effect is really wonderful, for the Japanese excel in illuminations, and have some very gorgeous lanterns.

Besides this main room, from about the centre, two smaller ones branch off, east and west, in which are kept *urns* containing the dust of the departed, tablets to their memory on soap-stone, marble, wood, or other materials. These are in myriads, but most carefully arranged, and very neatly preserved; indeed, certain priests are entrusted particularly with the charge of these relics. A dim light is always burning in these rooms. The interior of this Tĕră is in the shape of a Maltese cross; whether intentionally or not I cannot say.

But enough has been said of my temple, the bonzes, and their services to prove that the Japanese employ, in their temples and ceremonies, usages and customs very similar to those which for ages have been adopted by our brethren of the Roman Catholic Church.

The hours of prayer, the ever-open gates, the lighted tapers on the altar, the chaplet, the aureole, the ostensoir, the tabernacle, the incense, the prayer for the dead, are facts to be noted; and, as we certainly did not borrow these customs from the Japanese, the inference is that they have retained them after the expulsion of the Portuguese, their early instructors in Christianity.

That there are many descendants of Christians now living in the Island of Yezo, who would return to the creed of their forefathers if it were possible, is highly probable; and I have reason to believe that in that island alone there are more than 80,000 persons who have secretly, in fear and trembling, maintained and preserved not only the utensils and books of their Christian ancestors, but who actually by stealth still practise their worship.

The Japanese are a thinking race; they admit they have no good religion, and were it allowed by the Government, I have no hesitation in asserting that from one end of Japan to the other the Roman Catholic religion would be hailed with delight, and accepted with unanimity.

Protestantism was never known in Japan, for the Dutch and ourselves thought only of gain and commerce. It was left for the Jesuits to sow the seed.

The history of the "Ainos" also is a singular book to decipher. Before long, I imagine, that

outcast tribe will be found worthy of our peculiar interest, and that the hardy bear-stalkers and adventurous fishermen will be able to give some good reasons for their long beards and humility, and their dirty but handsome wives for their tattooed and painted lips and singular eyebrows. Are these the remnants (and therefore outcasts) of a religion which a few centuries ago nearly overthrew Sintooism and Buddhism? A friend of mine, whose patience is only equalled by his zeal, is quietly sifting this matter.

It is rather difficult to describe a funeral, as the poor Japanese have such an amount of ceremonies that we cannot be supposed to understand all of them: however, I will describe what I know of this particular one. First, the body is put into a kind of square tube*, about three feet high, and carried in

* In order that the body may be sufficiently pliable, the celebrated powder, "Dosio," a specimen of which I gave to Sir W. Hooker, is administered to the dying man, or dropped into his ears soon after death. The qualities of this powder are said to be so subtle, and its effect so miraculous and instantaneous, that the giant body of a Hercules may, after death, be bent into any position; and thus the most mighty frame is reduced to proportions which can be nailed down in a large covered bucket, never certainly more than three feet high. I believe myself this "Dosio," or powder, is a myth, and only sold by the priests for their own emolument; but, efficacious or not, the fact is patent, viz., that the body of every deceased person is carried to interment in the position and manner mentioned. Some say that the limbs are bent or bones broken ere the body is cold; but I doubt this assertion very much, for the Japanese have certainly great respect for their dead.

a chair or norimon, by four men, into the yard of the Tĕră, where the bonzes had already arranged an avenue of straw or reed candlesticks, decorated with *white* paper, and an imitation or real candle on each stick. The body of the deceased is escorted through this avenue by a few women dressed up in bright colours, wearing on the head a veil of white crape, and by some officers of the police with two swords, in their full dress and uniform, silk trowsers and wings. As soon as the body enters the yard, the "Ōchāu" arrives, accompanied by a quantity of minor canons, and they all begin singing as loudly as possible to the music of the omnipresent tom-tom, and a kind of bell only employed at funerals, which, however, makes a tremendous noise.

Whilst the singing and music are going on, the whole company, with the body, moves round and round as quickly as possible before the inner porch of the temple, making as much noise as possible, but not always of the most serious or sad description. This roundabout movement is to prevent the devil, or evil spirit, knowing where the soul of this poor body is, as also not to let him see when they take the tube into the church.

When they have all turned round perhaps a dozen times or more, the whole party rushes wildly into the temple, making such a noise that it is quite painful to listen to it. Then the sexton

and bearers place the body under a kind of little pagoda, which is all decorated in white, and surmounted with lighted tapers and white flowers; then prayers are read for a short time, after which the ceremony finishes by the bonze giving the body to some men, who take it to the place where it is to be burned. There is very little affectation of sorrow. A burial seems good fun, and ends in feasting at the house of the departed. The ashes of an important personage, or of those who can afford it, are collected by the burner (a most respectable man*) into the smallest possible amount of carbonised dust, and deposited eventually in an urn, within the sacred precincts of the Tĕră, there to await their final doom.

Snakes are very common in temples; but they are never, it is believed, killed by the bonzes, who think in the night that the soul or body of the snake would be sure to return, and form a necklace round his neck, and strangle him. A snake was once found in my wife's temple bedroom at Nagasaki. One of the servants was asked to kill it. He caught it in his hand, and twisting it round and round his head in the air, till he got out of doors, he threw it from him alive a long way, into a rice field. I was angry when I heard of it, but could do nothing; but I

* So respectable that he dare not enter any house or shop; and even to receive his pay he is obliged to pick it up from the ground, where the relatives throw it for him.

killed my own snakes for the future, and there was plenty of sport.

This sentiment or idea may account for the following fact, which I derived from a lady, a foreigner: —

One day a friend of mine was looking out of his window, when he saw a poor man, half tipsy, fall into a ditch near a temple. A few yards from the man was a young puppy, which could not make its escape from the water. Very naturally my friend's first idea was to go to the rescue of the man; but as he saw a bonze of an inferior class passing close to the scene, he did not take the trouble of coming down stairs, as he felt sure the bonze would at once help the poor wretch. To his great horror and astonishment, however, the bonze quietly pulled the dog out of the ditch, patted him kindly, but never so much as looked on the unfortunate old man.

My friend could not help crying out to the bonze, "Et l'autre! pourquoi ne le retirez-vous pas aussi?" The bonze, on hearing this, stared at my friend, but did not condescend to reply to him. He had to send his own Japanese servant to help the poor man. When the bonze saw the drunkard on his legs, he asked my friend, with astonishment and surprise, "what he wanted with the man, and why he sent for him? and for what reason he could desire to have him? for he was a

poor man who could not even pay for his funeral or passport to heaven."

The bonze's reason for saving the little puppy was, because the Japanese would not kill a crow or a dog, otherwise they would be in constant dread of the soul of the crow or dog coming some day to torment them.

The priest could not rescue one of his countrymen; but to save the soul of a puppy he would soil his fingers in a filthy ditch!

On public receptions, such as New-Year's Day, which in Japan fell last year on the 23rd of our January, when the governors are at home, *en grande tenue*, the priests are received immediately after the high civil and military authorities. The Ōchāu, in his handsome and gaudy dress, preceded by his treasurer and some minor servants of the Tērā, carrying the ensigns of his authority, and followed by all the clergy of his sect in the diocese, proceed in solemn silence and steady line of march to the Government-house, where a repast is offered them, which lasts for some hours. Any complaints he has to make, or requests he has to propose, are formally entered into the "day-book,"* and forwarded to Yedo for refusal or

* A day-book is minutely kept by all Government officers, and referred to on any subsequent occasion when a question is raised. One copy is always sent to Yedo; and nearly the whole of the conversation at each and every meeting is written down. Every-

acceptation, after a conference between the Council of State and the Dairi. The jealousy betwixt these great councils is so great, however, that much long and intricate discussion takes place on the most trivial matter.

The priests are generally kind, decently well-informed in their profession, and respected by the people. They have wonderful voices, and when preaching, excite themselves to a rubicundo-delirious state; but this is only temporary. They are very particular about allowing any unclean animal to approach the noses of their gods. When I arrived at Nagasaki, my jolly old bonze (he was a married man with a family, and therefore of a different sect to my Ōchāu of Hakodate) made sad difficulty about the admission of my sixteen sheep within the enclosed precincts of the temple. Eventually a square of some few yards was fenced off; but it often happened that the woolly flock would manage to escape, and enter some more holy part, when the whole "posse comitatus" of the temple would rush out, and, good-humouredly but effectually, contrive to re-establish them within their narrow limits; and as this happened to be close to our drawing-room and bedroom, we had the agreeable satisfaction not only of seeing and

thing is referred to Yedo. Even if a judge condemns a man, the penalty cannot be enforced until it has been confirmed at Yedo. So with the priests and all others.

smelling them all day, but of listening to their nocturnal perambulations beneath the thin flooring; for our room was raised some three feet for the sake of its being kept dry.

When our sheep arrived at Hakodate they were confined at once in an outhouse with paper windows and bars of wood. But the curiosity of the people was so great that the paper was daily poked in or torn by many fingers, in order that a glimpse of the flock might be obtained.* There was always a crowd round the little house; and when the first poor creature was doomed to be slaughtered in the yard all the bonzes looked on with awe and trembling; whilst the Ōchāu rushed into my office, and begged and entreated me to order that for the future the necessary sacrifice might be perpetrated within the wooden walls of the outhouse. Of course a promise was given, and his scruples were attended to; but this was ever an obnoxious sight to them even then.

After a long time and considerable difficulty, and then only with the aid of the Government, I succeeded in obtaining a cow and two calves. The cow, as if she quite participated in the Ōchāu's feelings, refused her milk; and when it was decided that one of the calves should fall a victim to the knife, the scene, I regret to say, was heartrending; for to them a cow is almost a deity, and, moreover, by

* Paper, luckily, was not expensive.

its great utility as a beast of burden, or for the field, universally respected. It was very difficult to persuade Government that the nations with whom the new treaties were made were neither icthyologists nor vegetarians, but required an almost daily allowance of some kind of animal food, more from habit perhaps than necessity, to sustain them. However, we always contrived, as far as possible, not to hurt their feelings on this point, and, by degrees, they almost became accustomed to the sight. But they had never seen or dreamed of milking a cow; and when my English servant first took this difficult task in hand, it required the continual presence of two Japanese officers to keep off the curious mob. What could the foreigners be doing? He evidently was not killing the cow, but he was taking the milk from the calf, only to restore it again, no doubt. But when the hard-earned pint was taken to the house, and the calf was allowed to go to its mother, then was their wonder great. It required explanation; and, I think, some astonishment (generally difficult to detect in a Japanese, however much he may feel it) was manifested at their not having discovered this useful necessary before. My Ōchāu himself eventually took milk in his tea.

But the great event of all in the connection of animals with the priesthood at Hakodate was the arrival of a few pigs. At Nagasaki, where the

Portuguese, Dutch, and other foreigners had so long been at divers times established or more or less recognised and domiciled, this unclean creature was no stranger. But here, in outlandish Yezo, the monster was only known by fame, and not too well spoken of. When, therefore, not long since, a pig was about to be landed at Hakodate, the bonze of a neighbouring temple heard of it, and, aroused to a sense of his duty, completely awe-struck at the audacity of the importer, determined, if possible, to prevent the introduction of an animal which the "Four Books" had pronounced unclean, and all good Buddhists execrated. He took, as a preliminary, sundry cups of saki, and then rushed down with all the ardour and frenzy of religious enthusiasm to the quay, gesticulating magnificently, and exhorting vociferously all pious believers to aid him in casting the offensive animal into the sea.

For this purpose he succeeded in collecting a considerable mob, and I know not how poor piggy would have fared had it not been for the presence of the American Commercial Agent, who took the pig under his protection, and desired the Yakonins to request the bonze to reserve his eloquence for some more suitable occasion. Treaty had not prohibited the importation of pigs.

My temple at Hakodate was a Tĕră, or Buddhist house of worship, with four other chapels of

ease in its immediate vicinity; and, as I have already said, the worshippers were chiefly women and beggars; but when officers or gentlemen attended the services, their attention was remarkable, and their general devotion unmistakable.

There was only one Sintoo temple, or Mĭă, as it is called, to distinguish it from the Tĕră, or Buddhist temple;—but probably it is to this worship that the "freethinkers" and "soi-disant" philosophers chiefly resort. The interior of the Mĭă is plain and simple; there is no regular form of service; each worshipper says his prayers as the spirit moves him, and will abruptly leave off whenever an acquaintance arrives, talk of secular matters, as I have often seen Mussulmen do, and then continue his devotions.*

Be this as it may, it is beyond doubt that "Sintooism," numerically the weaker, and therefore the less important religion, is still ("reliquiæ Danaum") the remnant of a national creed, which, before Buddhism, was the only tolerated worship in Japan; and that, moreover, it is to-day as it has been for centuries, the religion of the court. The temporal emperor has annually to pay his respects either personally, or by his vakeels, with

* I have seen Mussulmen repose on their haunches, and at their prayers, to ask their "chef de cuisine" if the rice was well boiled, or, in fact, what there was for dinner. "Similiâ similibus." En Japon comme en Japon.

rich presents to the Mikado, as the Chief of Sintooism, and the descendant of the sun, moon, and stars, in token of his submission, and as a proof that he recognises that religion to be the national religion of the empire. That homage paid, for the rest of the year he may select any of the other religions he prefers.

The Sintoo priests can marry, and their wives are recognised as priestesses. Ere long we may have a second edition of "Norma," "La Druidesse Japonaise."

The Mikado himself is like the favourite of the Sultan's seraglio — *mutatis mutandis;* he is surrounded by goddesses in the shape of twelve painted and black-teethed women, who are alone considered worthy of regarding his divine countenance. He has a Mistress of the Robes, who never allows the same garments twice to be seen on his sacred person, and who sends to Yukohama, in exchange for foreign silver, the porcelain which has had the supreme distinction of having held the rice, fish, or vegetables of His Holiness: beyond these last remnants of his former grandeur the spiritual emperor has little authority.

As he is invisible, the "Daïri" do his work, and their labours are not very onerous, for the Tycoon and Gòrrōgĭŏ most kindly and eagerly save them all the trouble they can; and, were it not that the person of the Mikado is still con-

sidered sacred, and that any insult to the man-divinity would be considered a national calamity, or taken immediate hold of by discontented Daimios, for their peculiar benefit and advancement in office, I fear Miako would long since have been tenantless, and its pleasant groves a desert.

The priests manfully support their chief; and, as in England, so in Japan, there would be imminent danger in separating Church from State.

There is another sect or religion tolerated, but not openly recognised: the doctors and magnates of the land, the politicians and profound thinkers, are professors of its tenets, which are highly metaphysical, and tinged with scepticism, if not downright atheism. These freethinkers admire and profess to observe the doctrines of Confucius, and look down with contempt (disguised, for they dare not openly admit their heresy) on Sintooism and Buddhism. They glory in the name of "Soōtōists," and, if not a numerous body, are perhaps the most learned in Japan.

I was paying a visit one day to my Ōchāu with the French Abbé of Hakodate, Monsieur Mermet de Cachon, and we had had a long conversation about his services, and the freedom with which all foreigners were allowed to enter the Tērās, and witness all their ceremonies. Perhaps this confession pleased him, for he took us into his private little chapel, and was showing us many things,

vases, joss-sticks, flowers, vestments, and other utensils, when we unfortunately took hold of a suspended portrait of some great Kami, god or hero, when his colour changed. The picture was immediately reversed, and we were quietly told to beat a retreat, as the countenance of that high dignitary was as sacred as the figure of the veiled prophet of Khorassan, and not to be looked upon by other eyes than his.

The Governors of Nagasaki and Hakodate style themselves Kami; but I doubt if they have the right to do so. It is like a Frenchman using a "de," or a German a "von," to ennoble himself. In former days a Kami was one of the Japanese Pantheon, or at least either hereditary or only given to very great worthies; but now all the ministers, governors, and princes have usurped the title.

All who arranged Admiral Stirling's convention in 1854, and Lord Elgin's treaty in 1858, signed themselves "Kamis;" and I have heard Japanese very plainly express their opinion, and declare to me that there was no patent of nobility which either the spiritual or temporal emperor had the power of giving of such rank as that now claimed by these important people. But that, since their intercourse with so many foreigners, they had been tacitly allowed to make use of it, so that they might treat with the foreigners as equals, if

not superiors; for these half-civilised friends of ours have a great idea that they are thoroughly civilised, if not a superior race to ourselves.

The Mikado in his palace, or Yāmŭn, has little real authority or power, only the show and semblance of it. The Tycoon seldom condescends to recognise him even as a spiritual chief, except on occasions mentioned before, but contents himself with sending annual presents and an ambassador — not to wound the feelings of the bonzes, Ōchāus, and learned men by an open disregard of one who once was the undisputed demigod of Japan.

He lives in indolence and ease, and receives deputations of scientific and learned men with copies of the newest works from the Bentleys of Nagasaki, or Ōsākă; for nearly all the English works and diagrams on steam, medicine, mechanics and the arts and sciences, are translated and printed at these two places; and there, in the sanctity and solitude of his hareem, he admires the beauty of his goddesses, applauds, by moving his Jove-like head, their manner of dressing hair, of dyeing teeth, and tinging their faces with the numerous powders they have.

The Mikado maintains a dignified silence otherwise, and perhaps would desire a little more freedom; but as there is an Ōmētskĕ of the Tycoon residing in the palace, his excursions are limited

to the Royal groves and lakes appertaining to the spiritual emperor's domains.

As a Mikado is never supposed to die, living on ambrosia and nectar, like our old Homerian deity, "Νεφαληγερετὰ Ζευς," his successor, is installed in his place a few days after his decease; and the public are made aware of the change only some months after the fatal event.

To reach Ŏsākă, which is the port of Mĭākŏ, from Nagasaki, there is, as described by Captain Bythesea, H.M.S. "Cruiser," one of the most dangerous but exquisitely beautiful inland seas in the world, known as the Sūŏ-nādă Sea. Entering it between the isles of Niphon and Kiusiu, the channel is very narrow, the rocks innumerable, and the currents like raging torrents or sluices. Native pilots, however, undertake to guide even men-of-war through this intricate passage, if the Governor of Nagasaki will give the necessary permission.

On account of the numerous islands the passage must be made by daylight. Perhaps also our terrors are not allowed to grow less by imaginary or political fears, which time will enable us to be the best judges of; for as Ŏsākă is supposed to be the outlet for all the richest products of Japan, in fact, its great commercial port, and the nearest convenient harbour to the Mecca and Medina of the religion of the country, every impediment

that fairies, sea-serpents, Circes, and every other mythological monster can summon up, are most sedulously and freely offered us.

Perhaps in no long time, indeed before many months have expired, we may discover that there is less need of a pilot than the princes and priests, in their hurry and anxiety to save us from destruction, have asserted, and that these Scyllas and Charybdis are but creations of the Japanese for political purposes.

CHAPTER VII.

TEMPORAL GOVERNMENT OF THE JAPANESE.

FROM the date of our commercial intercourse with Japan, I consider the want of success we have generally met with may be attributed considerably, though not entirely, to our own faults as foreigners.

A trade, and a lucrative one, was opened and established at Nagasaki before the installation of any British Consul. One article, sapan-wood, was sold by a friend of mine *for* 1*s*. *a lb*. for dyeing. There never was a complete understanding between the chiefs of the treaty nations. Each had its own views and interests; no unanimity or sympathetic action existed. One nation had cotton, another manufactures, and a third wines to protect; while Holland was not at first, whatever she may now be, our unprejudiced or our most disinterested adviser. Holland had stakes of interest and of old date, and could not have at first the same interests as ourselves.

There was no unity of action, I think; but

there was much difference of play—some for the bails at once, others preferring lobs or sneakers, as we cricketers, not diplomatists, understand.

The merchants themselves of all nations, moreover, would not give much advice, as they were perfectly satisfied with 100, 200, 300 per cent., and did not desire that their Consuls should be too thoroughly and intimately acquainted with all their unexpected successes. This was human nature—one of its weaknesses.

Gradually the Governor and officials discovered that there was a division in the council of the foreigners; for, on every point under discussion, they would instantly, but at first unknown to us, take the opinion of each Consul, and adopt the one most agreeable to themselves, thereby not breaking the Treaty. For, if one Consul supported their views, they were safe from that accusation; and, moreover, by the same Treaty, on any matter of doubt they had the option and perfect right of a reference to Yedo, the never-failing cause of all delay.

Again, at the capital itself, there was not always unanimity of opinion. This the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and the Gōrrŏgĭō, or Council of State, also soon found out, and naturally took every advantage of. It was not from jealousy—it was not from indifference, or misinterpretation of the wording of an article or regulation; for in that

case the Dutch version was to be decisive, and each chief of a foreign mission, as also the ministers, had a Dutch interpreter. Neither was it from a desire to frighten away the Treaty Powers, much as their presence was execrated by many, much as it formed the nucleus of a revolutionary or continued opposition party, and much as the whole of Japan would have been delighted to have seen the liberal adventurers and "échantillons" of the West wrecked in their "Sŭŏnādās," sent to the bottom of their unknown waters by their natural defenders, the typhoons, or dashed on shore by submarine volcanoes, their second diabolic protection, as the Russian frigates "Askold" and "Diana" were. Neither was it from fear of us, as we have every proof; for whenever force, even, or a demonstration, was attempted, either by the American, French, Russian, Prussian, Dutch, or British, it has been a most signal failure; and no minister in Japan has obtained an iota by an appeal to force, but has rather become, as by dire experience it has been proved, too often on the arrival, visit, or stay of a foreign squadron, the object of their ridicule, and the mistaken tool of their policy.

No; all was new to our ministers and their subordinates — all was new to the Japanese also. At first force was to be the order of diplomacy — ruptures were even menaced, guns and armies

were to arrive; but these threats had no effect. They were even met by concealed laughter, and perhaps ill-disguised delight; for threats, not carried out, are weaknesses in diplomacy, and retort a defeat on the incautious, even if well-intentioned diplomatist. But no sooner were these menaces uttered than the Council of State felt secure and strong, even if it had felt weak before; for they had to be retracted, and not only rival ministers, but private intellectual traders became advisers, punctual and early informers of the public opinion of the West. This was a *protection hitherto unknown*, but acted as powerfully as their rocks and typhoons.

Therefore, if force was not allowed to be used, but even in some cases threats forbidden, the only remaining arm was persuasion. But when attempts at force have called forth ridicule, persuasion is not so readily received. It might have succeeded at first; but when menaces failed, and the utterers were rebuked by their own Gōrrogiōs, there was something unintelligible, which time alone could elucidate. And the Japanese Ministry wisely determined to trust to time. In this they have done well, as history, if impartial, will soon prove; although passion and a feeling of present failure may attempt to sully or disguise the past, although unity of action was the weak link in the chain which the little Japanese eye discovered and took

advantage of. In no case has our Treaty been carelessly or wantonly broken, except by delays; every attack or assault on a foreigner in Japan, with the exception of that on the person of the late American Secretary of Legation, of which case I am ignorant, has been caused by provocation; all the matters to be discussed and after discussion, accorded or refused, were demanded by most voracious appetites, who expected to find our laws, customs, exchange, and system of commerce cut and dried for them, within a year of the signature of the Treaty—so that they might ballast their ships with cobangs, and make up a cargo with some few thousand chests of tea and some hundred piculs of silk. They forgot, unintentionally, that such an amount of export was of rather late and novel occurrence in Japan, but that the failure of a constant, continual, steady, and fair supply might be obtained with patience. The merchants pressed the Consuls, who referred to the custom-house officials and governors, and when they failed, the chief of the mission had to fail or succeed.

The Japanese wanted explanations—their western friends wanted immediate compliance. This was our error. Japanese are not Chinese. You must argue; you cannot bully them. Better sell or burn your godowns; and take off your dollars, or you will lose them and your head too,

perhaps. We will talk by and by of the manner of revenging our losses, and demanding indemnification for the mercantile communities; but before that can be done we must learn two or three lessons — not to despise Japanese bravery, to make an accurate survey of their seas, lakes, and rivers, and then to remember the cause of our failure.

But I do not say that we have failed entirely. *We have done much; we have maintained our ground*, and gradually, mite by mite, are obtaining concessions. The Japanese have formed some friendships with us. They are firm in their attachments; and the more we know of them the more we shall love them, and regret any little error, hasty or prejudiced, of omission or commission, which on a first introduction through ignorance of their habits, we may unintentionally have committed.

Intentional insults are exceptions. I believe few were offered by the Japanese; more by the foreigners, who, perhaps, generally doubted at the time, and afterwards hoped they had been unintelligible.

The modern tactics of deserting Legations and giving up consulates is "*sub judice:*" where the flag is, or where there was a Consul, I ever thought that he should have been the last to run away, unless "to fight another day." The few lines above

have gone beyond what I intended; but, loving still my countrymen, I love Japanese; and this outline, necessarily circumscribed by my official position, may, without wounding the feelings of any, be an introduction to my views, perhaps erroneous, which time will bring to light, on this lovely and interesting country.

The Siegoon, or Tycoon, is the temporal chief of Japan: the civil and military administration of the empire is under his control. Having made his complaisant obeisance to the spiritual head, he trusts to his semi-divine right and ancient lineage for the rest. He courts the principal Daimios, and if he can obtain the support of Sātsŭmā, Ōwārī, Mītŏ, Itŏ, Shāndăy, and some dozen princes of that calibre and importance, his power and authority are based on very sure and efficient arms. But as the rivals for supreme power are numerous, or politically supported, and the scions only proceed from one race, the Gōsānghăy, or legitimate descendants of Tȳcŏsāmă, the head of the present imperial dynasty, we may expect such revolutions as the one those now in Japan are witnessing.

An ambitious uncle, under the title of the Gŏteīro, was appointed regent of a legally recognised minor in 1858. He fell a victim to the Prince of Mito's assassins in 1860. Mito himself, more ambitious still, was soon after destined to die by the partisans of the Gŏteīro, or Tycoon, perhaps, but

this is a question. The Emperor, a minor, too young and inexperienced, when under the surveillance of the regent, escaped death, and has been able to revenge it, and so, perhaps, firmly establish his position and power; but in every country there are Dukes of Gloucester, and if not princes in the Tower, poor little fellows who know not what to do.

The present Emperor is twenty years of age, it has been said; but others state he is only sixteen or seventeen. Be that as it may, we may conclude that he has safely passed through his ordeal and persecutions, and will find a national party strong enough to support him; assured, moreover, that it will have the moral power of all the foreign ministers to second it, if he really, as we hope, has the intention of becoming the friend of international commerce, as defined by our primitive treaties.

The Tycoon's palace I never saw; his august presence has hitherto been accessible to very few; but his mode of life is believed to be the very essence of simplicity. His chairs of lacquered pine and only used for ceremonies, and his tables, like the deal tops and mahogany legs of a first-rate *café* in Paris, are covered with a green or red blanket: his ordinary seat is the clean mat of all Japanese.

The American, British, and French Ministers have seen his Majesty in solemn audience, and

now, we may expect, an interview of form and ceremony will not be of such rare occurrence, awe, and difficulty as formerly. A master of the ceremonies is a personage and title easy to create, and, with patience and time, the great Emperor of Japan may be as visible to the whole world as was the Caliph Haroun El Raschid of our youthful Arabian Nights to his fabulously loved subjects.

When the Emperor finds that his ambassadors have the power of gazing on the countenances of the sovereigns of Great Britain and France, "without being blinded as they gaze," (which idea can only be realised by the actual ceremony, and so reported to him,) I have no doubt the marvellous pomp and state there seen will induce his Majesty and Daimios to relax their pristine durity, and descend even to imitation. For there can be little doubt of a levée or drawing-room at either of these western courts being somewhat (in fact and matter, if not native simplicity,) almost as "grandiose" as the silent presentation of a representative to a monarch in a glass cage, in a saloon of the purest, but not most elegant carpeting, without glasses or ornaments, and attended by ministers whose countenances betoken more of respect and dignity than of love or affection.

The Emperor is assisted by a Council of feudal Princes, all of more or less credit and renown; they are the dukes and marquises of the good old

times, and the secret of his strength is to balance their power by consulting their feelings, and so maintain a majority if he can.

There are always some more important than others; out of some 250 to 260, there are a few Dukes of Normandy whom it would be quite as politic to conciliate as exasperate, as these are the men selected to form the Council of State, and they have almost as much authority as the Emperor.

All these high and mighty vassals must reside for a certain period annually at the Court of the Tycoon, and it is rather a curious sight to see them going to the castle, or palace, with their armed retinues and various essentials of rank and dignity. I saw only a small one coming from Yukohama to Kanagowa, and had almost to hide myself. I was glad when it had passed, for I was hidden in a shop with cakes, bonbons, and other sweet things, and counted my time by cigars, of which I smoked two, and then escaped before the whole procession had defiled before me.

There is a second chamber or council at Yedo, which acts with the Gŏrrŏgĭō, composed of minor, but not to be despised, princes. These men can check the Tycoon's power, as they put on him the responsibility of any signature his Majesty may graciously be pleased to approve of, or ratify without their consent; and the consequences are some-

times unpleasant, as the affair may end in Hari-kari, a termination not devoutly to be wished for by either party. If the Emperor acts on his own responsibility, and his decision is not, after a second reading, adopted against the previous vote of the council, the consequences are disagreeable, unless the decision be modified; for some one must be wrong, and a cross, embowelling the intestines, is a far from agreeable alternative. So the Emperor has to think twice, and his council also; for one or the other must be right or wrong, and have to pay the penalty accordingly.

CHAPTER VIII.

JAPANESE PRINCES AND DAIMIOS.

As in Great Britain we have had our Gullys, Cobbetts, Ingrams, and others, to show that from honest, yet humble, shoots noble flowers may germinate and flourish, so in Japan, in about the middle of the sixteenth century, we find Tycosama to have raised himself from a very subordinate office to be, first, the "generalissimo" of the Mikado, and, later, the temporal Emperor of Japan.

Xenophon, Cæsar, Hannibal, Napoleon, and Wellington were all of honourable families, and each in their time were mighty warriors and illustrious men; but they all had the privilege of birth to help them on the road to advancement.

Tÿcŏsāmā was of low origin — he had not even what we call to-day *interest;* but he rose from the very lowest ranks to be the founder of the present imperial dynasty. He was a mighty man and a warrior; and when we know all, as we shall un-

doubtedly soon, we may perhaps be instructed, and find out that, even in Japan, a Cromwell was necessary to purge deep-rooted evils, and cleanse an Augean stable of its accumulated filth; and he was the man.

The Tycoon is the temporal Emperor. The imperial domains can furnish 100,000 warriors; the Gōrrogiō, or Council of State, is under his orders; the priests and doctors, nominally under the protection of the Mikado and the Dăirī, are virtually and effectively also under the dominion of the Tycoon. The Daimios are independent princes or nobles; that is, when they are able to assert their independence — there lies the question.

There are, it is said, some 260 nobles in all the Japanese Isles. Of course some are far more wealthy than others, and, therefore, of more or less importance, according to their property and its products. There are princes, or Daimios, worth 1,000,000*l.* (one million of pounds sterling) per annum, and others not worth 5000*l.* a year. It is, therefore, the policy of the Tycoon and his council so to conciliate the powerful princes, that he may not only have a greater numerical preponderance on his side, but also the more substantial and wealthy party.

I shall not mention the imperial family further than by saying, that since our Treaty was signed in 1858, one Emperor has shuffled off this mortal coil,

leaving a minor to reign in his stead, and that this minor was under the tutelage of a regent, called the "Gŏteīrō," — a prince of high birth and great wealth, who was murdered in March, 1860, by the vassals of Prince Mito, almost within the walls of the imperial castle.

The Prince Mito, a pseudo-uncle of the present Emperor, was ordered to put himself under arrest or perform the Harikiri; but he preferred doing neither, as he had a very strong love of life, and a strong conservative party on his side, who hated the foreigners and all the innovations which they were introducing, and was ready to support his pretensions to the throne if the juvenile Emperor could be made away with.

The Gŏteīrō, or Prince Iīkamong, not of royal blood, I believe, had, to the period of his death, been favourable to foreigners, and it was a *coup d'état* of the Prince of Mito to assassinate him, proclaim the destruction of all Europeans, and announce himself as Emperor.

Luckily for us, not many months after his supposed treacherous attack on the person of the prince regent, the vengeful sword of I-kămōn reached his daring and ambitious heart. He was hacked to pieces on his own territories, not far from Yedo, where he was trying to levy a force sufficiently strong to cope with the armies of his imperial nephew, by the partisans of their late murdered master.

Within, therefore, two years, we ourselves have been witnesses of two political convulsions. One party, for the foreigners and supporters of the Emperor (or the liberal party, if I may so call it), had its chieftain assassinated, and witnessed the burning of the imperial castle; a second party, anti-foreigner and conservative, in its attempt to maintain itself, lost its chief also. Revenge may have had something to do with it, but I imagine politics had as much, or more.

Two great parties were striving to be first, and the foreigner was the "budget" on which the "division" was to take place; for these two murders were evidently actuated by other and graver motives than a simple feud between two rival nobles.

Prince Mito was of royal blood, a powerful personage, with property adjacent to the capital. He thought he had claims to the throne, and gained over many to his side and cause on the promise that he would dishonour the Treaties, massacre the foreigners, and restore ancient Niphon to its primeval simplicity; — but he was too fast.

The Tycoon, advised by the late Gŏteĭrō, had weakly, but yet to the best of his ability against a powerful opposition, supported the foreigner, and had evinced an evident intention of maintaining good faith with his new allies.

Here was the battle. Free trade or not — income-tax or property-tax — that was the question.

The Daimios were almost equally divided; but then it became a game of calculation who were the Daimios for, and who against the foreigner? Where are Satsuma and Kanga? Where are Shanday, Nambu, and Sataki? Where is Warwick, the king-maker? If these are for us, let the rest come on. The Tycoon is safe within his turtle-nest.

	Men.
The Emperor can muster and bring into the field at any moment an army of, say	100,000
Satsuma	30,000
Kanga	30,000
Shanday, Nambu, and Sataki, 15,000 each	45,000
Total	205,000

This calculation is given under all reserve; and I will merely observe, that I have mentioned five of the principal loyal chieftains of Japan, who, if united, would prove a very formidable check upon a revolutionary movement.

I believe that the Tycoon might bring such a force to bear against a foe, and therefore it would require a strong mind, a good cause, and a valiant chief, to produce against it a like, or even an approximate display.

	Men.
Prince Mito might have collected	20,000
His adherents and supporters, perhaps	80,000
Total	100,000

But even then he would have had, I think, very little chance of success; for some would have kept

aloof, and many of the disaffected, weaker nobles would have waited the tide of affairs before they boldly or openly avowed their intentions.

The powerful Daimios, much as many desire the banishment of all foreigners to their original Desima of Nagasaki, do not relish the idea of abrupt or dishonourable proceedings against the Treaty powers. They are brave, but are quite aware of the superiority of our arms and the excellence of our discipline, and might imagine it barely possible that we could ally ourselves to those who, while they were fighting for their own cause, were at the same time fighting our battles, even if we did not take up our own cause alone.

But I believe that the party of the Tycoon is ever the strongest. Natural ties, traditional rights, self-interest, would gather round his moated castle the old and powerful Daimios of Japan; and, however rebellion might triumph for awhile, the old dynasty, to which all Japan is really attached, would eventually recover itself, and be firmer and more powerful than ever.

But these Daimios know their power; they know how many vassals they have, how many acres they possess, how much rice, peas, sugar-cane, they can produce, what silk they can furnish, and how many kobangs and obangs are piled up in their treasuries. They know that they have duties to perform at Yedo, and they are fully aware of all

that they owe to themselves as a body; and if there are a few discontented, the majority prefer pursuing the even tenor of their way—six months "à la campagne," and six months in the capital.

"Il faut payer pour être prince."

There are in all Japan some 260 nobles. Of these, as we in Great Britain have only some twenty dukes and some twenty marquises, so, in an almost similar ratio, there are in Japan some few who have higher rank and are more powerful than others.

It is curious also to remark, that the imperial family, with the immediate exception of the Tycoon, is by no means the wealthiest in Japan; and though there were only three living relatives of the Emperor (one of whom was Prince Mito), their influence is much greater than that of the most wealthy noble, and they take precedence of every one after the Mikado and Tycoon. We have had an example of that lately. Prince Mito was, in comparison with many of the nobles, a poor man; but yet his name, position, and rank were powerful enough to create for him a considerable party, and we shall soon see (now that he is dead) if he really had the power attributed to him.

Prince Mito was always put forward as the cause of our failures; he thwarted the Gōrrŏgiō and Goteirō at every step; he caused the Tycoon's palace to be burnt down; he, through his myrmidons or

satellites, murdered the third man of the empire; he was even supposed (with what truth I know not) to have been the indirect and invisible author of all the massacres at Yedo and Kanagowa; to have put every obstacle he could in the way of international commerce; in fact, so to have swayed (by his influence, and the dissensions existing in the Council of State, which he hastened to take every advantage of, for the purpose of raising himself to the throne) the Regent and his party, that all the evils, misfortunes, and annoyances experienced since the ratification of our respective Treaties are attributed entirely to him.

Time will soon show if he merited such distinction and honour, and if he had that great influence; for, although he may have played his game with oriental violence; although he may not have scrupled to shed blood on his way to empire; although he may have been an impediment to our success, and however much foreign diplomatists may have had reason to dislike him; still he was a Japanese, and, if not a patriot, undoubtedly a man of capacity, talent, and principle — whether for good or bad, that depends on the judge. If he was the bugbear on our road to advancement which he is accused of having been, it will soon become apparent, by a success proportionate to our previous want of it; and if that be proven, it will also be clear that, according to Japanese fashion, he was

a very Hampden, and that in Japan it is not always wealth alone that establishes a great party, but that genius and tact, backed by ambition and some glimmering of right and reason, may take advantage of circumstances and light up civil war, such as we read of in our own history.

Europe has, even to-day, her Red and White Roses, which only require a few more showers to make them bud and blossom; and there is no country, it would appear, in which, if a Gloucester or a Richard rose up, there are not Norfolks to die with him, Stanleys to betray him, and a thousand disaffected courtiers and "aventiuricos" ready to espouse his cause at all hazards.

I will endeavour to give some idea of the power of the Daimios, of their relative position to each other, and of the force of their united influence when brought to bear upon the Tycoon and his adherents; and, in order to do so, will take our own country, not as an example, but as a starting point, and endeavour to assimilate them:—

	Men.
The Tycoon is supposed to be able to muster	100,000
20 Dukes, 7500 men each . . .	150,000
20 Marquises, 5000 men each . . .	100,000
100 Earls, 2500 men each	250,000
120 Viscounts and Barons, 1000 men each	120,000
Total . . .	720,000

I will prelude any remarks (which, at the best,

will be merely hypothetical), by observing that the Mikado is "hors de combat," and that there is neither a House of Commons nor a "tiers-état" in the thousand-island Empire of Niphon.

An hereditary noble is Chancellor of the Duchy of Miako, and the patriarchal spirit of Ishmail watches over the interests of the twenty-five millions.

What was the wealth of Japan, or rather, what was the currency of the land, before foreigners arrived? It surely was not money or specie, not cobangs or itzebous; for I have seen an itzebou cause as much wonder and joy to a peasant as Punch and Judy in this land would afford amusement to an infant. The nobles are the only landed proprietors; so "the many" can have no interest in land, save where they are agriculturists, or rather tillers of the soil. The commerce of the country was confined (with the exception of Decima) to themselves; and as no private ship could exceed a certain size (say 100 tons), under the severest penalty, the whole trade was purely coasting, and reciprocal only amongst the nobles or their agents. The 260 nobles, therefore, were the treasurers, agriculturists, and merchants of the empire; and although they were never personally tax-gatherers, merchants, or sailors, yet their revenues came into their coffers from all these classes, and they must necessarily have had to meet a very considerable annual expenditure.

Since the 24,999,740 remaining souls were dependent on their lords even for permission to trade, or cultivate their acres; and since any specie beyond the iron cash (5200 to a dollar) was almost unknown to them, if not prohibited, it follows that barter and exchange must have been the original circulating medium betwixt the lower orders of the Japanese, as indeed it was for centuries with the now civilised inhabitants of Europe.

The agriculturist, or farmer, would pay some seven-tenths of his earnings into the hands of his master; the merchant would have his percentage to account for; and even the "employés" of a noble would, no doubt, be squeezed on occasion, whenever a display of pomp necessitated unusual extravagance. As the patriarchs of old counted their wealth and substance by the number of their flocks, herds, and tents, by their man-servants and maid-servants—as the barons of old England once reckoned part of their revenues by the brute produce of their acres, and the increase of the swineherd's charge; so also, in the early days of Japan, did the lords measure their wealth by the piculs of rice, corn, or merchandise stored up in their granaries and castles.

After the annual payment of a nominal tribute to the Mikado and Tycoon, the rest was theirs; and the more vassals and dependents they could support, the more safe and potent they were, and

the more courted and respected at the capital. Who should travel with the greatest "convoi" of armour-bearing men? Who had the greatest supply of swords, pikes, bows and arrows? Who had exchanged the most rice and wheat for the pure gold of Nāmbŭ, Meno, and Kāgŏsĭmă? Whose mulberry trees nursed the best silkworms? Whose plantations afforded the greenest tea? By these signs a neighbour judged his neighbour. Wealth in kind purchased the gold of Matsmai and the silver of Sado Island; wealth in kind nursed and fed either the thousand or ten thousand warriors ready to draw the bow or wield the sword in defence of their lord and master; and in proportion to the number of his adherents and followers a noble was esteemed and courted.

Thus, without money there were followers; and when a Tўcŏsāmă summoned his faithful Daimios, that man would enjoy the greatest favour and honour, who could bring with him the greatest army of retainers without impoverishing his principality by a too heavy drain on its labour.

A Daimio has not the power of life and death over his people; although, were he to order an assassination, I have little doubt but that the command would be executed; and, were it discovered, that he could, in the security of his fortresses, and surrounded by his adherents, laugh at the imperial

sheriff's officer, and wait for a convenient season to return to Yedo, or until the fury of the law should be appeased. But in every country there is an Alpha and an Omega, whether it be in Law, Church, State, or Arms. Once a great man, a great man he will ever be during his life-time, and leave behind him a prestige to his descendants. A noble who has, by what oriental means deponent sayeth not, under his control, at his orders, armed and equipped, 7,500 soldiers, must have more weight than the chief of 1,000. This cannot be doubted. Were the gallant cavaliers of Prince Rupert able to fight, with all their glorious enthusiasm and splendid losses, against the numerical preponderance of Cromwell? Were the Swiss Guards, at the Tuileries, able to save from massacre and sacrilege the people-loving king, Louis XVI. and his lovely queen? No! However history may judge the past, history is an afterguard,—the present passion dominates over all.

So in Japan. The nobles with their 7,500 men had their peers; they were jealous of, yet anxious to support, the reputation of their compeers; and unless they saw a very vivid flash of lightning, common interests and common security bound the dukes to the dukes, the marquises to the marquises, and each noble "in his turn played many parts." Prince Mito, or the Seigneur of Belvoir

Castle, for instance, summons the Lords of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Nottingham, and Northampton; they may all be independent, but are powerless, if the Lord of Belvoir gives his orders. Are you for me, or against me?—if with me, I am for myself; if against me, say so—I am not for Ikămōn. Thus spoke Prince Mito, at the head of his Robin Hoods and Little John. Rush then, "like a torrent down upon the fold," the rice-fed vassals of Mito—the lesser nobles cry out, "Vive Mito" and Liberty! And so the Daimio of the East has the power to calculate his chances, and, either become a Norfolk or a Stanley. But twenty dukes, even backed by twenty marquises and as many earls, viscounts, and barons, cannot do all they wish.

An aspirant to the throne appears. There are Yorks and Clarences to get rid of. The rightful lineal descendant sits upon it. And a Mito appears; but he has left us—

	Men.
The Tycoon has around him an army of	100,000
If two-thirds of the dukes and marquises are for him, as probably they would be, and will be for long, for on the stability and "present state" of the empire their own present rule (if not as independent nobles, at least as princes in their own principalities), depends, they could muster for his support	166,000
The earls and barons would naturally be, in a measure, guided and influenced by their more "puissant" compeers and neighbours; but, as since the sixteenth century we read of no successful demonstration against the	

	Men.
secular and temporal authority of the empire, we may conclude that they are not dissatisfied with their lot (for Prince Mito, if he was a Pretender, was a failure), and that at least one-half of the whole would support the existing dynasty. Thus the Tycoon would have an auxiliary force of	185,000
Or a total available army of about	451,000

Moreover, these men could be produced at any moment; whereas, a scheme or plot for usurpation and sovereignty can rarely be concocted without some hint of its existence reaching the Gōrrŏgiō, and it would require time, secrecy, and caution before it came to maturity; and so, perhaps, any attempt might be nipped in the bud.

But if the Tycoon is omnipotent, he still, in order to maintain his position, has to calculate the "balance of trade," to conciliate the more powerful and rich nobles, and at the same time not offend the more numerous, but yet proud and important, family of minor Daimios.

One duke may have his 30,000 men; but thirty barons may muster as many; and the venom of party is so quick and subtle, that it will always require some tact to conciliate the greater, without alienating, or even wounding, a combined important minority.

The Tycoon is a species of Charlemagne; but he has his Dukes of Languedoc, Aquitaine, Normandy, and Gascony.

They may fight amongst themselves; their followers may draw their swords to defend the antiquity and superiority of this or that "Moon;" but were a foreign foe to descend on their shores, the brave old chiefs of ancient Niphon would let loose their waters, demolish their town-houses, burn all before them, and retire to their wilds and pleasant groves, and beckon to the invader to follow them.

If the nobles are united, and insist on anything they require, it cannot easily be refused them; there is no "Magna Charta," but the Tycoon has read of King John and his Barons.

Of course, when drunk, the followers of one noble will fight to the death for the honour of his lord; and as they are always armed, such little quarrels are not of rare occurrence.

The only open enemy we are supposed to know anything about was Prince Mito; and it is very singular that this much-dreaded man was the first to have built a house after the English model. All his tastes were English; his rooms were furnished like ours; his chairs, sofas, carpets, windows, *beds even*, porcelain and glass, came from Europe, if not from England. He was, moreover, a Napier or an Elliot with the shipwrights, a Fox or a Stephenson with the engineers, an Armstrong or a Blakeley with his guns, and a Ranelagh with his volunteers.

I cannot, therefore, reconcile the two so very contradictory opinions concerning this important prince. He had power, or he has had honours, which were not due to him, attributed to him. He hated foreigners. Yet no Prince of the Empire imitated us more than he did. He would feast for hours over diagrams and mechanics. He encouraged ship-building, and longed for telegraphs and railways. Does this in Mito seem anti-foreigner?

Time will show him as he really was. In every service there are victims. Let us for a moment consider this case. If, instead of a pleasant winter at Yukohama, the foreign embassies were to retire on board their frigates and corvettes; if, instead of a "suspension of diplomatic relations," the Ministers were to proceed to extremities; in the first place, I prophesy that they would gain nothing *, and in the second place, I think the chances are that they would get a sound thrashing.

It is true that the "Barracouta" gallantly broke through a bridge of boats at Nagasaki, and a very plucky thing it was to do. It is also true that the "Little Lee" steamed up to the very forts of a

* I hope and trust that the new promises may be fulfilled and realised; but as every one may have his opinion, so I have mine, and that is, that they will not be performed unless our manner of dealing with them is very much altered.

virgin capital; that bright bayonets and revolvers escorted the Treaties of peace, friendship, and commerce to the very threshold of the Palace; that new and unwished-for conventions have been forced down their throats; that diplomatists, consuls, merchants, and "hoc genus omne" have given the State some trouble; that Prussians, *who had no treaty*, landed an armed force like conquerors, to silence a few outraged Macdonalds, and by so doing ought to have forfeited all claim to the support of any resident minister. These things are all true; but to whom the credit? Is it due to the actors in the scenes I have enumerated? Is it not rather due to the brave and high-minded Japanese, who bore all, suffered all, endured all patiently, because they felt their treaties bound them?

The Tycoon may, however, against his will, desire to honour the signature of his imperial predecessor. The Gōrrŏgiō may support him; but the barons of Japan, as the barons of England have done, can force him to the water's edge, and make "Kăwăsătĭ" as celebrated as Runnymede.

What do we dare ask of France or of Russia? Nothing but what we are expected in return to give an equivalent for. What do we demand, with big words and loud menaces, of Japan? Everything: and they want nothing.

Big words melt into liquid syllables, so long as

the war is wordy-good. But push not the cat into a corner, or it will spring on you. Prick not too deeply the half-slumbering lion, or he will smite you with his paw. You have licked the long-tailed Chinaman; but not all the combined armies and fleets which have as yet appeared in the East will awe the De Ros's and Howards of Japan. You may burn and pillage, but their noble and fiery spirits will dare you on, till, in the rice-fields of their principalities, and their sylvan retreats, they greet you with a hearty salute, and from their moated chateaux will look down, and

> "See the lean dogs beneath the wall
> Hold o'er the dead their carnival."

Nagasaki with her five hundred guns may fall — Odessas in the East meet with little respect; Kanagowa will offer no opposition; Yedo will offer to the photographer of the expedition a splendid idea of what London was in 1666; and all the foreign merchantmen in the roadstead will have paid for their places, and seen the sight; but they will have to go back to China for tea and silk.

But to return. The feudal princes from all parts of Japan are obliged to leave their principalities for six months of every year, to attend at the Castle, or do the duties imposed on them by the Tycoon or Council. The escort of a prince coming or going is enormous, and very expensive

even to a Japanese; for he has to live like a gentleman, and show his wealth by an ostentatious display of it on the road. During the other six months he can obtain permission to be absent, on the condition of leaving his wife and family at the capital. This is security for good behaviour in his perhaps distant home; but it proves that the lords have hearts as well as heads, for to keep those heads, and yet visit their vassals and dependencies, they part with what is most dear to them, and are obliged, as it were, temporarily to pawn their best-loved objects, for such has been for centuries the established law in Japan.

The information I am able to give on Yedo, and in fact on many other points, has been obtained from M. de Bellecourt, and M. L'Abbé Mermet, two Frenchmen, ever ready to give advice and kind aid. On my last visit I went to Yedo and came back alone, with one Yakonin, each time.

CHAPTER IX.

JAPANESE GOVERNORS.

THE Governors of the open ports are under the Council of State, but of course are not the magnates of Yedo. They are nominated, at the ports opened by Treaty, by the Tycoon and his Council, and I had never but one opinion of them: though I must say I far preferred my Hakodate friends, but then I knew them more intimately. The Boūgñiōs are, or were, at Hakodate, three in number, all noblemen, and the kindest men in the world, perfect gentlemen when off duty; but when they had their business to perform, they were inflexible as our oaks, and could not, or rather dare not, turn an inch out of the given line, although I believe that they often would have done so, had not the fear of disastrous consequences checked their better inclinations.

One Governor resides at Hakodate for a year; a second is visiting the provinces,—collecting taxes, settling disputes, appointing or dismissing officials, and, in fact, performing his "tournée" much as a

prefect in France; the third is at Yedo (or on his way up and down, for it occupies a good part of his year to go between the two posts), and has to make his report of his year's rule in the Isle of Yezo, and give an account of the finances, trade, commerce, and behaviour of the princes and people. The governors are relieved, about the 1st of October, annually.

The Governor has great powers, not to act with the foreigners, (for that is very limited,) but over the people, who have no written laws to defend them, but what are confided to the ministers of justice at Yedo. He can fine, imprison, transport, torture, flog, and even confine an entire family, though only one be suspected, until the truth is known, but he has no power of death.

The Governor of Nagasaki had recommended two persons to be executed, for which permission had to be obtained: the warrant came from Yedo, and fourteen days were fixed as the latest period. However, the Japanese, of course, in their laws, are still kind; and the Governor, who has this discretionary power, allowed one of the condemned to go and see his friends and settle his affairs; but hearing that he had been taken suddenly ill during his leave of absence, he sent off trusty Yakonins to bring him speedily to the place of execution, for I am assured that he himself (the Governor) would have been obliged to satisfy the

imperial order with his own head, had not the condemned man suffered *while alive.*

Europeans will be astonished at the liberty thus given to a man condemned to death ; but this astonishment will cease, when they know that the man is delivered over only to relations or friends, who with their whole families become security for his appearance, and who would all have to suffer in his stead if he failed to surrender himself at the appointed time.

Soon after my arrival, in October 1859, a carpenter stole a few pieces of money from an Englishman. One morning in August, 1860, I was aroused at four o'clock by the private secretary of the Governor, who came to announce to me that the warrant had come from Yedo for his execution, and, that within an hour the poor fellow would die. Of course I jumped out of bed, put on my clothes, and with the Englishman who had been robbed of his few "sapecs" (who immediately joined me at my request), hurried to the Governor's house, and begged the man's life. It was of no avail that I used all my eloquence, that I should be contented with a slight public punishment, that the one about to be inflicted was too severe, that it might breed animosity betwixt foreigners and Japanese, that it was the "first fault," and the first favour I claimed. No; the laws of the Medes and Persians alter not, nor do

the imperial mandates of Japan vary; they are slow, but sure. The man must die! The warrant had come from Yedo; the case had there been examined by the Chief Justice, Cadis, and Daimios, and the verdict had been returned from the capital unanimously — it was death! I tried again and again, but all was useless; the poor fellow had his head cut off!

Was it as a warning to other Japanese to respect the foreigner that this severity had been resorted to? I think so.

One thing is evident, an order from Yedo cannot be disobeyed; the open ports are not "Cours d'Appel;" the Daimios, Gōrrŏgĭō, and the consent of the Tycoon, is law supreme. The Governor afterwards told me, that his orders admitted of no change; that he was pleased and gratified at my *unexpected* trial of intervention, and that he had reported it; that he would have assisted me, if possible, but that he entertained a proper value for his own head; and that even a reference to my chief, and through him to the Gōrrŏgĭō would be useless.

The government is patriarchal, but the laws are unchangeable, just, I believe, but often terrible, in their severity. I was requested to witness the execution; but as (thank God) I had never seen in Europe a man hung, garotted, or guillotined (though once invited to go in a carriage with four

horses to see the latter horror), I declined, even though I have lost here the occasion of describing the awful sight.

Incendiarism in Japan is a fearful crime, its consequences incalculable; a hayrick or street in England, a house or quartier in France, even a dockyard in the United States, are trifles. In Japan, from the capital to its uttermost dependencies, all the cities, towns, and villages are of wood and paper; set fire to one wooden house, ten thousand others may feed the flame; whole villages, cities, towns, may disappear. Therefore the greatest precaution is requisite, and the severest penalty of the law inflicted on a wilful incendiary.

Soon after my arrival, in a fit of vengeance, a poor Japanese set fire to his neighbour's dwelling. He was caught in the act, and therefore little damage done. In September, or nearly a year after, he was condemned; the evidence had been sent to Yedo — death! but what death? He was to be impaled!

Before this inquisitorial argument, however, the victim, who by the laws of his country (and this law, of all others, is perfectly known, and considered essential to the safety both of person and property) knew the penalty of his crime, had been judged, and after a long delay condemned. He was dressed most gaudily, washed, shaven and shorn, and with his hands tied behind him, seated

with his head turned on the back of a pony, and there lashed. In this way he passed through the long * streets of Hakodate, going by one and returning by another, preceded by tomtoms and the usual guitars, insulted right and left by the loyal citizens, and followed by the execrations and shouts of all the people. Of course there was little sympathy for the poor creature, who, I am told, bore his fate with the same calmness as Socrates his poison, or Regulus his spiked cask. Not a muscle did he move, though his face was pale, his cheek wan, and his whole frame emaciated by long imprisonment. His deportment was bold and callous; but he was a Japanese, and knew that he must show courage, or his family would be after him either burners of the dead or *tanners* †; in fact, he seemed to court death, and to enjoy his earthly purgatory, as, by his conduct and bearing, he trusted that his family would not only not be disgraced, but even rise in estimation by his calm endurance of ignominy and pain. He was impaled! The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and high officers were there; the Yakonins abounded; the mob was estimated at 10,000. A long pole, round which was straw, saturated with water, met his gaze. He walked manfully up to it; he

* Two miles long.

† Tanners, a race despised in Japan, who live alone, and are not permitted to eat, drink, or talk with others than their own "caste."

was lashed to it; the sentence was read; more straw was heaped around his funeral pile, more water added; then the whole mass was ignited, and in a few moments the poor creature was not burnt, but "asphyxiéd:" his death was instantaneous, and the body delivered ōver to the dis sectors.

I was many miles from Hakodate when all this occurred, with my wife and family, but report it from a medical friend who was a witness of the whole scene. Thus the Governors have no power of life and death: when once the order is received, they have no power of retarding it. The laws of Japan are certainly severe; in the case of the incendiary, fearfully just; in the case of the thief, almost inhumanly terrible. I do not know the crime for which the two men of Nagasaki suffered death.

There are four Vice-Governors, attached to each Governor, who correspond, "magnis parvis," with our Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, Home Department, Treasury, and War.

The Lord Chancellor's "habitat" is Yedo. At any official interview, if I wanted to talk of exchange, or any money matter, the same Vice-Governor always attended:— to arrange any affair about land, water frontage, or European settlement, another, but always the same Vice-Governor assisted at the conference, and so on with the others; but when it was international business,

not only the resident Governor, but his colleague also (if he happened to be in Hakodate at the time), with the Ómētske, Lieutenant-Governor, and all the Vice-Governors attended; and, although few ever spoke except the Governor, he would apply to the rest of his council for advice, and so I had generally six heads against me. Moreover, I knew the Ŏmētske and the Governor's private secretary were copying down every word I uttered; so I felt and knew it was often rather a delicate business. Patience and calmness, however, will do more with my Japanese friends than loud talk and big words; for they say immediately, if a man, discussing a question, loses his temper it is a sure sign he is advocating a wrong cause; and a descent to personality is tantamount to victory, if only the attacked party can bite his lips hard enough and preserve his smile and equanimity.

I have mentioned the day-book: this is kept at every Government establishment, and at every Daimio's chateau. Every question is written in black, every answer in red; every incautious word is duly registered and brought forward in evidence if required; for the matter talked of at each meeting is signed by all present, countersigned by the Governor, and then sewn together and carefully docketed. It is a very formidable and generally a very correct witness against one, for with us we have but the memory generally; but a

line on the spot is worth a volume of recollections, and too often we find out "vox audita perit, litera scripta manet." The day-book, in fact, is a short-hand account of all and everything that occurs, is said, or is not said, at any meeting with Japanese.

The powers of the Governor of Hakodate extend all over Yezo; for even the Prince of Matsmai, though not entirely subservient to him, is more or less under his orders and jurisdiction. He cannot establish a commercial depôt in the port without the Governor's permission, and with the Princes of Nambu, Ito, and others who have their mercantile agents fixed there, he is obliged to receive a Government Ŏmētske, who is to assist at any conference of importance, and report its matter to the Bougnio.

When I first arrived at Hakodate the population was announced to be 8000; within a year it had increased to 24,000. This the old Governor, Tchuda Omĭnō Kāmĭ, himself told me: so, if Hakodate is the only port open in Yezo, other merchants must have been allured by hopes of foreign gain, and have brought their merchandise from other far-off districts. By and by, let us hope, more may be tempted to go over. We know that, after the Government, the Daimios are secretly the greatest traders, although they pretend to despise merchants; for in this once little fishing village the great princes of the north and north-west of

Niphon have their agents and servants, who inhabit now immense and even partly fortified buildings. The ships from their chiefs come consigned to them, and they indirectly, through brokers or native merchants, do business with the foreigners: all their ships, after being duly registered, are marked with their respective "moons" or armorial bearings, and tacitly, with the consent of the Government, through the Governor and their several agents, they do a considerable business.

All the best sites are allotted to them, and although they, at present, either dare not, or from national pride, do not, directly trade with the foreigner, their interests are daily becoming so interwoven with the foreigner, that, unless some sudden rupture occur, free intercourse and self-interest will bind so many to us and our commerce, that all the wiles, menaces, and even force of the Tycoon and his Council will be powerless to check the innate desire of every human being to accumulate wealth, and, by wealth, power and place.

The arms or "moon" of the Government of the Tycoon, on shore, is a trefoil of black on a ground of white; afloat, it is a red ball in the centre of a white silk or crape ground.

The attendants at the house of the Governor are "legion," and ready at a moment's notice to

rush to his support and defend him with their lives. They are before the entrance, at the entrance, within the entrance, in the yard, at the vestibule, and during an audience crouched all round on the mats.

The dress of the Governors is, except on state occasions,—such as New Year's Day, the feast-day of the Emperor, or any departed warrior's fête, —simple but neat, and entirely of silk. It is the same as that of every other Japanese officer or gentleman, only the silk may be handsomer and finer. In short, the only distinction I ever remarked between a Governor and any other official is, that he has a species of henchman who kneels by his side with his Excellency's sword in his gloved hand, ready in a moment to draw it, and die with it in defence of his master.

On his grand visit the Governor comes with a numerous train. Three officers, with an interpreter, announce his arrival; the big gates are opened; a Vice-Governor follows, and announces that the Bougnio is at hand. Consul and his officers then go to the vestibule, salute His Excellency, and conduct him to the reception-room. Horses, norimons, spears, bandboxes, the umbrella, dispatch-boxes, slipper-bearers, and cloak-bearers, accompany him, in addition to the Yakonins: arm-chairs and tables, pipes and tea, and refreshments. It is curious to observe that after

the "How do you do?" they, as in England, always begin with remarks on the weather, and when that momentous subject has been discussed, pause and smoke to think what next to say, for the Omētske has already written down the first important question, "Are you cold?" The next is more grave still: "How is your health?" "Take care of yourself;" all kindness and civility — and so all interviews begin and end.

When official business is to be transacted, the same forms are observed; then comes the "tug of war," and victory or defeat.

Whenever a Governor sent an official letter, it was enclosed to me personally, or, in my absence, to one of the officers of the Consulate, in a dispatch-box about eighteen inches long, four inches deep, and four inches wide; the whole box being bound round with a silken cord. The letter was generally accompanied by an officer, whose servant carried the box to the door, when he would take it from him and respectfully present it to the Consular Officer, and retire. The letter itself was almost as long and broad as the box, sealed and stamped.

There are many kinds of norimons. I have not seen an imperial "echantillon," nor even a Daimio's "ne plus ultra;" but it is well known that the Governor has one kind, the priests another, the doctors a third, and, as we descend in the

scale of humanity, so we find most decisive marks which distinguish the "norimon" of the great from the "kăgō" of the humble.

The Governor's norimon is remarkable for the depth of its broad but thin pole; the priest's conveyance has a round pole: the doctor's "kăgō" is supported by a pole, not unlike the Governor's, but neither so deep, so long, nor so broad.

It is a punishable offence for one of an inferior rank to make use of a carriage or norimon, the pole of which would indicate a superior rank: it is as absurd in their eyes, as it would be in England for a layman to ape the bishop's mitre, or a market-gardener to blazon his car with a strawberry leaf.

There are chairs, almost open, for the poor people and lazy Yakonins, but the best of them are very uncomfortable; for it is impossible to lie down — the only position is that of a Turk on his mat.

The foreigners have adopted a kind of palankeen chair; but as it requires twice as many men, it is expensive, and I am not sure that the innovation is regarded with unmingled respect by the officials.

It may amuse, perhaps, my reader, if I describe our first dinner party. Having invited the two Governors, the Lieutenant-Governor, three Vice-Governors, and their suite, to meet the Consuls

and some officers of the Russian Navy, we were somewhat perplexed how to receive them, and more so what to give them, but we determined at last on giving them a repast in our own fashion.

At three o'clock exactly they arrived, and were introduced into our drawing-room, which a few minutes before had been my office. There, much to their surprise, they saw a lady to receive them; but after explaining that it was the European custom for the ladies to preside and even take the place of honour at table, they became quite at their ease, so much so that when the Consuls and officers arrived and shook hands with my wife, however astonished they might have felt, their countenances betrayed no wonder. To explain, however, their surprise, it must be observed that in all houses from the highest to the lowest, it is the invariable custom for the wife or mistress of the house in Japan to preside over the culinary department, and see that the dishes are properly served, while their liege lords are enjoying themselves: therefore it was for them quite a novelty to see a female taking the first part in a festival.

The dinner was served up "à la Russe;" beginning with soup, which they partook of, with apparently good appetite; then followed salmon, boiled, their natural food, which they enjoyed much; then "cotellettes de mouton à la jardin-

nière," then "ailes de volaille piquées," a boiled leg of mutton with caper sauce, a roast wild goose, and roast wild ducks. To our joy and surprise, they ate of everything, and as a proof of their satisfaction and good breeding they made a point of asking *twice* for each dish. They also indulged in wine like ourselves, but showed a very marked preference for champagne.

My wife was seated betwixt the Governor and the captain of the Russian frigate; and, although none could speak very much together, yet, with the aid of interpreters, who were standing up behind them, they managed to say a few words, and enjoyed themselves much. Still they seemed rather awkward, seated far from the table, not knowing exactly how to make use of their knives and forks, and making tender appeals for some kind aid in the art of dissection.

Of course we were now and then reminded of Turkish habits; but we were not at home, and what is considered bad manners in Europe, is the acmé of courtesy and good breeding in Japan.

Between each dish out came the little pipe, which only lasted half a minute, and no sooner was it finished than it was restored to its master's belt, to reappear after the next course.

Although they had really paid due respect to all the fishes, meats and "gibier," the tarts and creams did not frighten them, for on these they

immediately commenced an attack, and expressed their unequivocal admiration of them, for the Japanese are very fond of sweet things.

They soon also became accustomed to our mode of taking wine together, and would invite everybody, over and over again, to clink glasses together with them.

The Lieutenant-governor, who has a large family, was astonished not to see our child, and was continually asking after her, because, as he saw the mother present, he thought the little girl might be there also. He asked so much for her that at last we were obliged to send for her, and when she made her appearance, and had made her bow to the two Governors, the Lieutenant-governor, who sat at the far end of the table, filled his hands with cakes and sweetmeats, and came the whole length of the room to offer her them.

Eva was rather shocked, but on the sign from her mother, received with a "petit salut" the well-intentioned compliment of the Governor, when she soon after retired.

We drank toasts to the healths of our sovereigns and the Tycoon, the Governors and all their party joining heartily in the cheers, after the meaning of them had been explained to them.

At half-past six they wished to leave, and the Governors gave the signal to the Lieutenant-

governor, who in his turn spoke to a Vice-Governor, who gave the necessary order. But on the appearance of the coffee and cigars they expressed a wish to remain a little longer, to taste the new beverage, which, with the aid of an immense quantity of sugar, they took many cups of, not disdaining "un petit verre de Curaçoa" at the last.

I had given orders to arrange an avenue of lamps, with the British arms upon them, from the vestibule to the great gates, and these, with the numerous lanterns of the gubernatorial party, had really a beautiful effect.

The next day, very early, their Excellencies sent a party of officers to thank me for what they called a feast, saying how much they had enjoyed it; one Governor begging me to accept a present of 100 eggs and a large box of pears, the other Governor sending three splendid salmon, three turbots, some pipes and tobacco, saying that they were sorry that they could not return such a dinner, but sent their thanks and presents.

All this was kindness, simplicity, and affection. The Governors, however, soon return the feast, and a very handsome one it was, and from that time to the date of my leaving Hakodate we frequently dined together, and became intimate friends.

When a Governor made me a private visit, he came without spear or umbrella, or any other in-

signia of office, either in his norimon or on horseback, with one or two of his private servants; but even then he was obliged to be accompanied by a spy and one officer of the rank. On these occasions, however, he dropped business and would talk of flowers, steam, sailing, England, France, and foreign countries. I was always astonished at their knowledge, and often fancied they were endeavouring to try me, and put questions, they knew well the answers of, to prove my truth.

I went to a large party which he gave his officers. The Vice-Governors and high officers, mounted on their best horses, chose sides (four on each side), and, dressed as we are for cricket, threw off the cares of state, and played at a kind of "hockey" "à cheval," galloping with the ball they had picked up from the ground in a little bag, attached to a long but light wand, and trying to throw it into a net at the end of the course, while the opposite side would be galloping after him, or by his side, raising their wands whenever he tried to throw the ball, and using all manner of means to prevent his doing so: there was no distinction of rank. Now the happy owner of a ball, seeing that he could not reach the goal, would turn round and gallop as hard as his horse could take him, followed by friend and foe, endeavouring some to defend, some to knock the ball out of the pocket. Now he would suddenly turn round, as quick as

lightning, and, if his horse was fast, succeed in reaching the goal before his adversaries were aware of his intention; now a fight in the air, all trying to obtain or defend the ball, till, by luck or skill, he manages to throw it into a bag beyond the "barrière." Then the bell sounds, and a new ball is thrown into the arena, and hard work it was; but there were plenty of refreshments. This game lasted at least two hours, and was highly exciting, every one on horseback in a private park.

Having had a privilege which perhaps few have enjoyed, namely, the company of my wife and child with me, when Consul at Hakodate, I had an opportunity of visiting the wife of the Lieut.-governor, and other ladies, and of being, I may truly say, more intimate than any other European with ladies of distinction in Japan. We found them always kind, affectionate, and in their way most agreeable. I will describe our first visit to the wife of the Governor, which, stiff and formal at first, led to frequent repetitions and eventual friendship, and even now correspondence.

I had, on the Japanese New Year's Day (the 23rd of our January), the pleasure of returning the visit which the Governor had made me on our New Year's Day, and we began talking about our wives and families. After a while he proposed that I should enter into his private rooms and visit his wife, who immediately expressed a desire

to make the acquaintance of mine. Of course I directly assented, and an early day was fixed upon. At one o'clock on the day appointed, an interpreter came to say that the Governor had approved of our visit, and that Mrs. Kōwātchī was ready to receive us. Of course we went in all state, my wife in one norimon, the little girl in a second norimon with her maid, and all our party of Chinese and Japanese in their gayest dresses.

The great gates were open as on an official visit, all the minor servants, at the vestibule, were on their knees, and numerous officers with two swords in a second room. There were several children of the Governor waiting about, neatly dressed in crape of all colours, and evidently in their costumes of ceremony.

As it is not the custom for high ladies to move out of their own rooms to receive visitors, although they accompany them on going away to the outer door, we were ushered, in silence and pomp, into their presence. The Ani-san, or mistress of the house, with her mother and children, came to the door and shook hands with us, saying, "ŏhiō," "how do you do?" and making their very lowest and very gracious bows. We were all struck with the manner, elegance and beauty of the Lieut.-governor's wife, who very kindly, and with evident delight and pride, took Mrs. Hodgson by the hand, and placed her on a

state chair, brought for the occasion, between her mother and herself.

Her mother was a charming old lady of upwards of seventy, and seemed delighted at the visit. The wife, we afterwards discovered, had been long at Court, attached to the Empress. Her hair was beautifully black, full of tortoiseshell and amber combs, with a large bow of hair on the top "entremêlé," de fleurs and ribbons, rather like the "Marie Stuart." Her dress was magnificent; sky-blue crape, embroidered with gold and silver, and a profusion of red flowers. It was lined with a bright scarlet silk wadding, which trained on the ground several inches, and was only very slightly visible, as the silken belt round the waist would barely allow but the very hem of it to open. The sash or belt was also of red silk, very broad, tied behind in an immense knot; and, to give some idea of the size and weight of it, she admired very much a rather handsome Cachemire shawl which Mrs. Hodgson wore, and which, she said, would make a very fine "ceinture" for her. The sleeves of her dress came only to the elbow, much as they are worn in Europe to-day. She had no ornaments, bracelets, or jewellery of any kind; and on her feet only white cotton socks.

Her complexion was almost invisible, being covered with poudre de riz, which is damped, so

that it may stick longer on the face. Her eyebrows were shaven, as those of all married ladies are; her lips were dyed bright red; her teeth were as black as jet and polished as ebony; her nose was exquisitely chiselled, her eyes black and expressive, and her face illumined with a peculiarly charming smile.

> "Such was Zuelika, such around her shone
> The nameless charms unmarked by her alone."

The mother was apparelled much the same, only her dress was of dark grey silk, and her hair *à la Chinoise*, without any ornaments. The children were dressed also much as the mother, only their teeth were beautifully white, and their eyebrows untouched.

Once seated, the ladies offered us tobacco, in which they all indulged, and were not a little surprised that Mrs. Hodgson declined. The "Gādjĭŏs," or maid-servants, on their knees, served round the tea. The old mother produced a very old antique cabinet, "quem Belus et omnes, a Belo soliti," with sundry drawers, from which, as if by magic, she caused to issue forth sponge-cake (Castera), bon-bons, and confitures. The "Gādjĭŏ" then handed each of us two square pieces of thin paper, which were to be our plate and napkin. In the meantime we were all talking through the medium of an interpreter, and the questions asked were sometimes very difficult

to answer directly or properly. After we had passed half an hour in this manner, the "Gādjĭŏs" arrived, bearing a very handsome old black lacquer cup and saucer, with a pair of chopsticks, which they placed before each of us. This cup contained a palatable chicken soup, with vegetables. After the soup came a second similar bowl, with venison, duck, and sweet-jelly, all together. We found it as difficult to eat with chopsticks as they did with our knives and forks, and I daresay they thought us very awkward. The Governor himself helped us all to two kinds of their saki; then the Gādjĭŏs re-entered with two kinds of fish, very well cooked, the whole feast concluding with a large dish of boiled and peeled chestnuts, placed in the centre of the table, which was only about eighteen inches high. None of the plates or dishes were removed, but all were left until the end, so that the table was crowded with relics. During the feast, which lasted nearly three hours, all the officers and plenty of "īshāas," or doctors, were spectators, no doubt admiring our awkwardness and want of appetite. No rice was given, as it is considered too common.

When the Governor's wife saw that Mrs. Hodgson and our child declined taking any more, she took them by her hands into an adjoining room and began an inspection of their toilette, calling in to witness the spectacle not only all the Gādgĭŏs but

the wives of the Yakonins who were waiting without and about the house, counting every object of their dress and asking most queer questions, such as, "Do you sleep with your bonnet on?" "With your crinoline?" and many other odd questions, which it might be as well not to particularise.

This inspection lasted about half an hour. No female searcher at a Custom-house could have made a more exact examination of their persons, and no object could possibly have been concealed; but, in revenge, she showed Mrs. Hodgson all over her house, pointing out the joss, or household god, where morning and evening they say family prayers, her husband's private study, her wardrobe, and the dress she used to wear at Court, which had been given her by the Empress. It was much and heavily embroidered with gold, silver, and flowers, so much so that the ground and colour of it were scarcely visible. She showed me also her sword, which had a beautiful hilt, and on my expressing my surprise that she should be allowed to wear a sword, she replied that all the wives of high officers were permitted to do so, to defend themselves, but that, generally, their Gādgĭŏs carried them. She asked me if I would like to see her daughter defend herself. Then suiting the action to the word, she called in a Yakonin and told him to attack her, and that she would defend herself; and so well did

she use her weapon that the Yakonin was very glad when she cried out "Enough!"

I forgot to say that almost the first complimentary inquiry addressed to each of us was with regard to our ages. It would have been a serious breach of etiquette if they had forgotten to put this question, which some ladies in some countries would not like to have answered, and which rather embarrassed us at first.

About five o'clock, our lanterns were lighted, and although much pressed to remain another hour, we took leave. Indeed, we were all but half-frozen already from the want of fire in the rooms. We were escorted to the door by all the ladies and the whole party, when the old mother said, "that she regretted we had made such a poor meal," to which we replied, "that we had all eaten and drunk immensely."

It appears a Japanese lady cannot allow her guests to leave the house without this phrase. After repeated ălĭgātō's, "thank you's," and sўŏn-ăllă's, "adieux," Mrs. Hodgson fixed an early day for a return visit. So, on the day and at the hour fixed, the same little interpreter, Tāchĭ, came to announce the arrival of Mrs. Kōwātchĭ and her party. The great gates were opened, the servants arrayed, and they arrived in three norimons, with several maid-servants and numerous officers. My little girl, who had already made friends with them,

was in the court to receive them, and Mrs. Hodgson in the antechamber; the party consisting of Mrs. Kōwātchī, her mother, her two daughters, Mrs. Ohāsī, wife of the chief of the Custom-house, and the maids carrying the sword and small box, containing lighted charcoal and all the materials for smoking. The Yakonins, having safely deposited their precious charge, with the exception of three, were then permitted to retire, after inquiring of us the hour when they should return to reconduct the party to their home.

Their toilettes were even more splendid on this occasion than on our visit. The first thing Mrs. Kōwātchī did on entering the drawing-room was to take from her sash a beautiful silver pipe, and after a few whiffs and a cup of tea she expressed a strong desire to see all Mrs. Hodgson's wardrobe. Ladies have the same love of dress in Japan as in Europe, and I am sure Mrs. Hodgson was quite two hours showing them her very moderate collection. They never asked for anything, but accepted with pleasure and at once, without making a scene, any trifle offered; a sheet of writing-paper, a piece of scented soap, a few needles and pins, even a preserved prune out of the store-room, which they would wrap up in a piece of paper and hand to the Gādgĭŏ, or a wax candle; in fact any European little thing charmed them excessively, and they never ceased exclaiming,

"English thing, tăkĭsōn yŏy," "very good," "Niphon wārrŏuy," "Japan bad;" not that I believe they always thought so, but it was meant as a compliment. A flower out of a wreath was immediately put in the hair, and the looking-glass resorted to, a ribbon also caused the same movement. Our child first exchanged dresses with Mrs. Kŏwātchī's little one, and then her mother desired to put on a European dress, without taking off her own. She was very much pleased with her looks, and the bonnet and flowers delighted her, and she seemed to think that, if she were always dressed as a European lady, she would look as well as them; of which I have no doubt, for she was a good-looking little person.

Having visited all Mrs. Hodgson had to show them, from the drawing-room to the store-room, we all went to a little lunch prepared in the dining-room, consisting of sweet puddings, blanc-manges, custards, preserved apricots, greengages, and others, in fact whatever we thought nice things. The salmon, however, was nearly the only "meat" they tasted; the tongue from London was utterly despised and rejected with grimaces and ridicule, which rather annoyed Mrs. Hodgson, who told them that it was not very polite to laugh at their host's hospitality, even though they might not approve of the dishes. Of wine they would not take any, of Curaçoa a very little; the oldest gādgĭŏ,

who is a kind of *dame de compagnie*, was the only one who asked for *two* glasses; but she was old, and it was very cold: the others, ladies and maids, took nothing but warm water, without sugar, which they sipped with pleasure.

The repast ended with the "Illustrated News," "Journal d'Illustration," "Punch," and all our pictures being greedily but hastily devoured, and all the maids being charged and laden with old copies, which were much prized. About 5 P.M. the lanterns appeared, and they left us, begging Mrs. Hodgson and Eva to come often and visit them, and to allow them to come in frequently.

From this time all ceremony was over; whenever we met for the future, it was *sans façon*, and we became intimate friends; indeed, the day before our leaving, the parting interview was painful to all of us, for *all the Japanese were dressed in black*, which, though not mourning for the dead, is a sign of grief. We had also all to drink in the same cups, and the cups were of tortoiseshell with the figure of a crane lacquered upon them, which meant to say, may your lives be as long as those of the tortoise and crane. We shall never forget the happy moments passed with these kind friends at Hakodate; if we found peculiarities and customs to smile at and amuse us, no doubt we afforded them food for laughter and criticism also.

CHAPTER X.

JAPANESE DOCTORS.

HAVING spoken of the Governors, their staff, and domestic life, a few words about a very important class, the Ishāas, or Doctors of Japan, may not be uninteresting.

There are at Yedo and Miako two universities, where the M.D.'s take their degrees and obtain their diplomas. No distinction, I believe, exists betwixt a surgeon and physician — all are "Ishāas;" but there are grades most decidedly, for a common doctor takes as his fee a few cash, and visits only the poor, whereas the doctors of the Mikado and Tycoon are men of great consequence.

The ordinary M.D. carries only one sword, and has his head always shaven as that of a priest. The doctor of high degree (which I saw) does not always shave his head, for the Emperor's own physician, Kŏrĭmōtŏ Sămă, at Hakodate, and my little botanical friend, both had long hair. They also

had *two* swords, and were highly considered. In fact, whenever the Governor met them, I always remarked that he paid them great attention; indeed, at one visit, I remember that he invited Kŏrĭmōtŏ Sămă to come from one end of the room and take a seat by his side. It is true that this gentleman, whose drawings and paintings of birds and flowers equal, if they do not surpass, those of Mr. Gould and his talented wife, was sent expressly, and selected specially for the purpose of establishing a botanical, and more particularly a medical, garden near Hakodate. He was a most intelligent man, knowing Latin, Dutch, and a few words of English, whenever it concerned medical or botanical subjects. He lived quietly, and was very much occupied and greedy for any information, perhaps with the intention of creating a school or college, and giving lectures. At Yedo he had his quarters in the Imperial Castle; but at Hakodate one horse, and two or three domestics, composed his modest establishment.

At Nagasaki the Dutch have long been instructing their "custodes," by means of lectures and even practical lessons. Without wishing to say a word against the gentlemen who have devoted so much time and labour to their profession, and endeavours to instil useful and scientific knowledge, until lately, I believe no body was ever

handed over to them for dissection, and that few remedies recommended by them or any foreigner have been adopted.

Whatever the lecturers said was duly reported to Miako, and, without the sanction of that religious and literary conclave, no theory could be practised; for in Japan there are a certain quantity of known diseases for which, from time immemorial, there have been and are certain specific remedies; and although now the native practitioner may tacitly acknowledge the superiority of the foreigner, yet the same spirit which dominates over all, and regulates our trade, is very perceptible in the distrust with which even medical innovations are received.

The doctors would listen to their professors, and perhaps mentally agree with them, but until the permission is granted from the Dăīrī, no one dare practise the useful lessons he has heard.

When I arrived at Nagasaki I had a few medical and other books (in Chinese) given to me by the Chaplain of the "Sampson." The medical books which I distributed were thankfully retained, the others returned: so also at Hakodate, the other Chinese books, which I there found out were translations of one of our Gospels, were thankfully but firmly returned; and my Christian Chinamen, who had a large collection of Roman

Catholic books, were warned not to issue any more of them.

The doctors are lovers of books, and obtain permission to print as many as they can. At Nagasaki this is possible; at Hakodate there was no printing-house.

All the Japanese medicines came originally from China, and that was one reason for the great monopoly of Bêche de mer and Erĭco, for the Government bartered these two favourites of the Chinese for their medicines and have done so for years, and so no *coin*, gold or silver, ever left the Japanese shores. Medicines were wanted by the Japanese, Bêche de mer and sea-slugs were longed for by the Chinese. Here was a *quid pro quo;* but now the foreigner claims his right to be a vendor of drugs and a maritime apothecary; so, as he has the right, medicines from Europe must be admitted, and the Chinese paper pastilles, with Buddhist charms, will only be partially, where they were lately absolutely, a monopoly.

The "Dosio" I have already spoken about: I question much if the sagest Ishāas knew its virtues, but their rivals the priests do; for, be it remembered, the priests of Japan are semi-doctors, and often are called in instead of the Ishāas, to enchant and drive away the sickness. The doctors do not always hear the voices of the Bonzes with that pious thrill they ought to do, for the

"cash" or "sapec" is going to Buddha instead of Æsculapius.

Acupuncture, practised by blind men on the muscles with a thin needle, often three inches in length, was introduced, I believe, long long ago, into Europe from Japan. It is exploded almost entirely from our countries, but practised still all over Japan. As soon as a doctor becomes blind, he sets to work and practises on a skin or something soft; and when he is pronounced an adept, and sufficiently capable of operating, he has a licence to prick his fellow creature, and, I hear, often with success, in cases of muscular rheumatism.

Moxas are still burnt in Japan, and it is not rare to see the back of a man in summer, whose skin is one mass of dark-coloured spots. This is practised on every one, rich and poor, and is not so painful as I should have imagined, if I may judge from the frequency of its application.

A doctor has always his tools ready. From that capacious sleeve, or that broad belt, he, at a moment's notice will take out his pocket-book, and extract from its secret recesses one of those numerous powders or pastilles in black paper and charmed envelopes, and administer it at once to the patient. I remember at the Botanical Gardens, one hot day, I had drank too much bad

water, or had tasted the leaves of too many plants, and that I began to foam at the mouth and was sick. The kind doctor then gave me one of his square pieces of dark paste, of agreeable taste, and in an hour I was quite well again. I believe his remedy in time, whatever it was, saved me from a worse illness.

Of course quacks are to be found in Japan, and they are highly patronised by the sellers of Dosio. Incantations and prayers have blessed the "Materia Medica," and of course, as two professions have to make a fortune or living, the price of these unpatented articles is proportionably exorbitant; a dose may often cost as much as a penny!

The doctors are very abstemious, great lovers of flowers and nature, generally the best instructed class in Japan. They assist at childbirth with the *sage femme*, who is educated for this speciality, but I should shudder at the bare repetition of the horrid sufferings I have heard the poor women, in labour, are subjected to: they are kind, however, and, as I have said, respected by rich and poor.

With them baths are everything, an universal cure — sulphur-baths particularly; and that may account for the numerous bathing-houses to be met with. In each of the ten quarters of Hakodate there were at least two, where men and

women indiscriminately congregated; but no indecency was allowed. Owing to the uniform diet of the Japanese (fish, rice, and dried vegetables) cutaneous eruptions are very prevalent; baths are the cure, and the sulphur springs near Kamida are as much visited in their season as Barèges or Vichy in theirs.

Deformity is seldom seen. Were I to give the reason assigned for its rarity, it would be given under all reserve, and only on report. It is said that any child born mis-shapen is not allowed by its parents to survive its birth; but as the Japanese are pre-eminently attached to their children, as they respect their parents, and are affectionate in their family relations, let us wait awhile before we believe what is still a question.

When the poor man was "asphyxiéd" at Hakodate for the incendiarism, Dr. Albrecht, a Russian gentleman attached to the Consulate, begged the Governor to give him the body. It was sent to him, and before all the learned doctors of the place, the dissection took place. This was a change in the annals of Japanese history and habits, but the students were all highly and, I trust, painfully, interested and instructed.

Though clever men, I do not think the doctors meddle with politics. They are essentially men of peace, and, moreover, I fancy they leave politics

to the Daimios and Yakonins, who are not partial to interlopers of any kind.

Every Daimio of consequence has at least one medical man for his own immediate person, besides others, according to the multitude of his vassals.

CHAPTER XI.

MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF HAKODATE.

ALL the island of Yezo is under the surveillance of the Governor of Hakodate, and even beyond that, for his authority is recognised, in the Tycoon's name, if not as far as Tonquien Bay, in the island of Sagahlien, at any rate up to latitude 48° N., or rather above the fork of Aniwa Bay in that island.

I am aware that the Russians, under the command of a Russian officer, a friend of mine, have opened coal mines rather lower than Tonquien Bay; but it is pretty well known, also, that a considerable Japanese force, some say 10,000 men, are concentrated in the southern extremity of Sagahlien, and will dispute further possession, trusting to their friends the Treaty-making powers not to desert them.

Be that as it may, the Governor of Hakodate is the Governor-general of Yezo and of what remains to them of Sagahlien; and if, since the

intrigues of an ambitious power have been discovered, portions of the isle of Yezo have been awarded to the Princes of Matsmai, Nambu, Shanday, and Ito, on the condition that they defend them, still he is virtually the representative of the Imperial Government, and has supreme authority.

In the city of Hakodate (for a village which in a few years has increased its population from a few thousand to 24,000, deserves that epithet,) there are ten wards or quarters; for each quarter there is an alderman, who is responsible, both he and his family, for any crimes or accidents which may occur within his gates. For the ten wards there is one Lord Mayor, who every morning receives the Ōtŏnōs or Aldermen, hears the cases of minor importance, and decides upon them with the alderman summarily.

Any grave case is reported directly by the Lord Mayor and Chief Police Officer to the Governor, who hands it over to the Procureur-Imperial: after that, European ken knoweth not at present how Japanese law is followed up.

These Ōtŏnōs post up the public notices in their quarters, take care of all the poor and sick in their wards; so well indeed, that when, on two occasions of local disaster, I volunteered to the Governor to open subscriptions and even forwarded my own once, both offers and subscription were politely but very gratefully refused. Each ward is obliged

to support its own poor; no beggars are allowed except at the temple gates; and the Governor once declared to me, that if there was not much wealth in Yezo, yet there was providential care, and that it was a disgrace to a village or district to allow poor men to want, for that rice and fish were plentiful, that the hearts of the rich were good, and the Government was careful of its people.

On several occasions I had need of the Ōtŏnōs, and even if roused at midnight they were always willing and ready to assist me. No thief or deserter can escape; no one dare or would receive him. He may buy bread and take water, and then hide in the bush or forests, until his ship has sailed, but no one will receive him; and sooner or later, for it is only a question of time — he must come in.

As an example: a whaler had been detained at Hakodate many days, in consequence of half the crew having deserted. The captain at dusk made sail, but returned during the night: so did the deserters, who had secreted themselves; for they were taken by the Ōtŏnōs and their officers, and put on board their ship almost as soon as she had returned to anchorage.

The "Municipal Council" has little power beyond that of keeping order, each ward in its own district, of hearing, listening to complaints, and acting as guardians of the peace.

They levy no duties, they exact no taxes or "octroi," but they register births, deaths, and marriages, and either in person or by their agents assist at the two latter ceremonies. A most correct register is kept; no one can be buried without the Ôtŏnō's signature and written authority, and in case of suspicion he is, or by his delegate is, coroner. Marriages are a civil contract, at which also this functionary (who at Hakodate was a jovial, fat, fair and kind magistrate) must assist, I believe, as registrar.

He is also charged with the cleanliness of the streets, and has to see that the *snow is cleared away*, and thrown into the sea from before each house; he has to ascertain that the *water-tubs* on each house-top are full of water in case of fire; he has to warn the proprietors if there are not *enough stones* on their roofs to keep down the thin bark tiles in case of a tempest; he has to see the lanterns at night at the corners of the streets are in order; he has to condemn bad fish and vegetables; and at last to see all lights put out in the Japanese dwellings, not when "the curfew tolls the knell of parting day," but about or before ten o'clock.

He represents the wishes, desires, and wants of his parish; he is ready at a moment's notice to aid the Custom-house or other Government officers, and takes a look into the tea-houses after all is

finished to smoke his pipe, and perhaps enjoy a mat, and see that no one enters.

He has indeed much to do, the good chief old Ōtŏnō of Hakodate.

In case of fire, where is the Ōtŏnō? In case of a disturbance in a saki-house, where is the Ōtŏnō? In the case of a foreigner breaking into the bath-house, where is the Ōtŏnō? Like Figaro, he must be everywhere. And a good little fellow is the Ōtŏnō of Hakodate; for at two in the morning he brought me back a parcel of dispatches which I had sent off by my constable at 10 P.M., and as it contained money also, I was anxious to discover it. The good little Ōtŏnō was duly summoned; he said he would have it; and within four hours he returned with about some fifty of his policemen to say that he had found it, and he brought it to me in triumph.

I never knew where he found it, but that matters little; even the seal was intact! and I thought my good little Ōtŏnō a very good, kind, and enterprising Chef de Police.

I have no doubt the Ōtŏnōs have many more duties to perform than I have enumerated; but *sat, satis, superque* for one poor man. Should, however, this sketch of his character ever reach him, let me request two things of him: not to be annoyed at an old friend's remembrance of him; and, secondly, for the benefit of all foreigners,

his wife and family, and the inhabitants generally, let me request him to order a nightly massacre of some three hundred pariah dogs, and then, after mature and deep calculation, I fancy the stock may be considerably decreased by the end of this century.

Gambling is strictly prohibited — the penalty, if not death, is most severe; this also the good Ōtŏnō must look after. A suspicious light immediately attracts his attention, but before he reaches the spot only darkness is visible, for even gamblers have their Ometskes.

I remember one sad tale connected with gambling. I was aroused from my bed about 5 A.M. on the 30th August, by a messenger who came to report to me that a foreigner had that morning been murdered.

It appears that this foreigner was returning early in the morning to Kamida, about four miles from Hakodate, and observing a light in one of the houses he entered it incautiously and asked for a light for his cigar. He found a large party at play, and, in a joking manner, threatened to denounce them. The threat was enough: the whole party rose up and so maltreated the poor fellow that he was left for dead on the beach. Luckily he has since recovered, but he had a narrow escape indeed. Still, how can we blame the Japanese, when we know that even in our

own lands gambling is severely punished, and that an informer, who may, even in fun, announce himself to be such, might have brought all this company to ruin, if not death?

The Ōtŏnō has, moreover, sometimes dangerous duties to perform.

CHAPTER XII.

JAPANESE HOUSES.

THE houses in Japan are all built after the same model. When the plan is agreed upon, the size is always calculated by "mats," the measure for everything in Japan, from land to houses.

A mat is as nearly as possible a length of six feet, by a breadth of three English feet, so that at a moment's glance the size of the room or house may be correctly ascertained, and it is a most serious and disgraceful crime to add or detract an inch.

When a house is to be built, therefore, the future proprietor says, "I require a house of so many 'mats,'" and so it is built. In front of the house is a verandah, from a half mat to one mat broad, generally not more than one mat high; and towards the street or public entrance, the beams are grooved top and bottom, so that wooden shutters may be slided along the whole front, and act as walls and door when the house is shut or the occupiers absent.

Within this verandah is a second partition, like a window-frame, but instead of glass, a thin opaque kind of paper is used, which is not stout enough to exclude light, and yet no one can see out of the room or into it. In this room, the nearest to the door, sits the master of the house, always in the same place, opposite the entrance, around his charcoal fire, and tea-pot, smoking his pipe, receiving his friends, or doing his business. No person dare take his place even during his absence, so everyone knows exactly where to look for the master. It would indeed be an insult for any one, noble or simple, to take mine host's place.

Behind this audience hall is a mysterious conglomeration of other rooms; the private (not sitting-room, for there are no seats), the children's, the servants', and the guests' apartments; for the Japanese are hospitable, and receive their friends. Each of these is separated only by the window-frame and *paper* glass, so well that on occasion, if all the subdivisions were dismantled, the whole house may be Aladdinized into one room, or become a bevy of Brighton bathing machines (without wheels, however), at the will and fancy of the host and his guests.

I have seen a succession of little rooms, within a very few minutes, converted into a large salon, with hanging pictures for looking-glasses, and kind maidens on their knees for domestics.

But luckily, we speak English or French, which the landlord and his servants know not of; so although the walls were such as a Pyramus and a Thisbe would have loved, we have the advantage over those old lovers and can say what we like. Even if fingers do make little holes, which I have read of in Switzerland and other lands, we were only aware of the fact after our departure, and had nothing to regret or repent of.

All houses are built on the same plan, with this exception, that the Governor's are the *longest*, and are as sacred as our own Government houses. At an hotel, when the rooms are once selected, no person, without permission, can enter the paper barrier; there is the limit. It is very true, that it is slight, but it is respected; a paper house is a castle in Japan, and to enter an hotel, or a house where a Daimio, or a government official, with his suite, already is installed, would be as dangerous as it was in the time of Bailie Nicol Jarvie of Walter Scott celebrity.

At the back of each house is a second verandah, and here the luxurious lord, master, or shopkeeper passes his evenings. He has his little fountain, his fish swimming in it, his ferns and water-plants, his dwarfed pines and elms; in fact, within a space of some twenty feet square, he has a lovely miniature garden, and there, in all the beatitude which this world of his can afford, he

smokes his pipe, sips his tea, blesses the Tycoon, abominates the foreigners, and ends with a prayer to his lady love, for a new and clean mat, and a cup of saki.

If his male friends are with him, he will take two; and then the pious maids will offer them cups, not on their knees, as they ought to do, but upstanding, the elixir which gladdens but never inebriates, tea or saki "à discretion."

I rarely passed by a Japanese house in the country without an invitation to enter. In the towns of course this attention was not offered, for there are hotels everywhere; but even at many public restaurants the landlords often refused any acknowledgment, but offered us whatever we asked for. They were *then* perhaps astonished at the sight of a foreigner, and had not received their orders how to receive them, or they may have been directed not to take money, which is more than probable.

In every open port of Japan there are certain houses, built and furnished at Government expense, for foreigners. They are not the *tea-houses* we read of, where all the "Moosmes," or maids, are either the daughters of the proprietor, or their respectable servants, but houses of ill-fame. Yet it is a singular fact, that from these dens of iniquity the nobles and grandees often select their wives, and pass an inspection of the entire

group before choosing the future mistress of their lodges.

The only excuse (and that a miserable one) is, that these poor creatures are sold for a certain number of years to the vile merchants, and may often have belonged to decent and respectable families; but, as debt in Japan is dishonour and necessitates "Harikiri" as its penalty, and as at the end of July and New Year's Day all claims must be satisfied, the parents do not scruple to sell their daughters for a certain period, to liquidate their responsibilities. The poor child eventually returns to her family without a blemish on her name, or a flaw in her character. At Hakodate there was one of these houses, which I had occasion to enter with police officers more than once, to seize runaway sailors; but I never knew their mysteries until I returned to Kanagowa. Of course I had heard of them and of their revenues, which are farmed by the Governor and his officials.

At Yukohama, which is, if not a part of Kanagowa, at any rate its faubourg and port, I was perfectly astonished. I went with two of the principal European personages in Japan, and found a magnificent (*similia similibus*) palace; but, before entering it, it was necessary to select, or, at any rate, make the pretence of selecting, one or more companions.

To do this, a Yakonin escorted us through all the courts of the seraglio, where ices, cakes, sweetmeats, and other Japanese delicacies were temptingly exposed, until at last we reached the "stables," for so they have been named.

There were three rows of wooden boxes, some hundred mats long, with a passage of half a mat between them; each row was subdivided into narrow horse-stalls, little rooms with a small window or aperture towards the passage; and in each of these stalls was a female. At a given signal, either a clap of the hands or a shrill cry, all the inhabitants rose from their cages, like dogs from their kennels, and put out their well-dressed heads. The visitor had to pass through a hedge, not of hawthorn or tea-trees, but of females, and if not full of pity, disgust, and compassion, he must have become lost to feeling, and any sense of shame or modesty. When an object has been selected, and its value estimated, the temporary proprietor retires, and may either have a room worthy of Sardanapalus, or a garret fit for such monstrosities.

The grand saloons (for I visited all) are really splendid — a fine room, with fountains, fish, trees, and flowers, marble and old lacquer ornaments; and, universally, a pretty view, with Gāyāshāās or singing-girls, who are good and virtuous. The staircase was large and broad, and of marble;

and the Yakonins were everywhere at the call of the visitors; a clap of the hands brought together a bevy of men and maid-servants.

We smoked our pipes in one of these spacious halls, listened to the melody and songs of the Gaÿāshāās, and then left, disgusted with what we had seen.

The Gaÿāshāās, or tea-house girls, are virtuous; it is part of their profession to assist at the orgies of the Pans and Nymphs, but no Japanese would insult them, and did any foreigner presume to do so, he would have to pay very severely for his indiscretion.

Any of these women, and, I believe, nearly any woman in Japan, may be bought *for a time* by a foreigner, certainly by a Japanese noble; but the purchase has to be duly registered, the money paid down, and all the conditions formally and legally recognised; and at the expiration of the convention, the party has to be handed over, with any alterations or additions, to the primitive owner.

Of this fact there is no doubt. This is the reason why so many rich bachelors remain in Japan; for temporary wives are easily obtained. They are generally faithful and sometimes prolific; and many men, who have had the misfortune to have a family, feel a natural reluctance to leave it in want, and

therefore remain abroad unhappy; consoled by the idea that they are doing their duty, and paying for the sins of their youth by the devotion of years.

The dancing-girls or singing-girls are to be found in every city or town, and may be hired for any party, but they are never insulted. They are, moreover, well paid, and accompany themselves on guitars and tom-toms. I never saw any other musical instrument in Japan. These singing-girls will come in parties of three to your house and perform all they know either of singing or dancing, not much to the edification or enchantment of the European, but immensely to the delight of the enthusiastic Japanese.

There is much real family affection in these islands: old age and old people are respected, and children are spoilt and petted. The only one of the family connection in the domestic circle to be pitied is the wife. She may be mistress of the house and honoured as her husband's lawful wife, but she is not the sole proprietor of his affections; she has to associate with many others who share his affections, and to live in daily and continual intercourse with them. A probable reason may be assigned for this desertion or indifference on the part of the husband; as in India and other Mahommedan countries, children are affianced by the parents often as soon as they

are born, and are not allowed to make one another's acquaintance or even meet before marriage; they therefore can never marry from love.

The white teeth of the maiden when about to be married are blackened and polished*, the eyebrows neatly exterminated, every hair being carefully plucked out; and, on the day for the ceremony, the couple go to the Temple, and drink many cups of saki together out of the same cup, and afterwards, with their friends and relations, make a great and very boisterous rejoicing.

The husband, according to his wealth and position, may take unto himself as many concubines as he pleases, but there is only one lawful wife, who is mistress of the house, although there may be any number of women. All the children are, however, legitimate, and as well treated as those of the lawfully-married husband and wife.

Those who have not been affianced in youth, or as children, can select their wives whence they like; and it is a disgusting fact, as I have men-

* This is done once or even twice a day: a tea-pot is put on the charcoal and allowed to boil; when the liquid is perfectly hot, a little is rubbed on the teeth, which are then polished with two or three soft brushes, and the gums cleaned, and mouth rinsed out carefully, for the composition, most offensive in smell and taste, and even dangerous, consisting of emery or metal filings and "saki," must only remain on the teeth. Any hard substance will cause the varnish to come off, and that is a sign of carelessness and bad dressing.

tioned, that many men, not only the poor, but the rich and great more particularly, resort to the public brothels to choose their future lawful companions.

The married women are described as very virtuous, even if their lords and masters are polygamists; and there is one simple but very forcible preventive to much infidelity on their part, since the husband has the power and right to take the law in his own hands, and administer any punishment, if not the sack of the Turk, at any rate some substitute quite as prompt, efficacious, and sure.

"Moosme" is the name for a daughter or maid, and not to be confounded with the Gāyăshā or singing-girl, or kānkrō, the unfortunate temporary inhabitants of the Government "Haras."

Every evening these poor creatures, made up with all their splendid finery and mockery of dress, painted and powdered, with their little tea-cups and pipes before them, are seated in a row, on their clean mats, within a square room which opens on the street, and is separated from it only by a wooden "grille," through which the gallants and passers-by may at leisure examine them, and then enter and make a vile bargain with the proprietor.

There is a certain quarter for these poor wretches, as for every other trade. A tinman has his street, a paperhanger his station, a tobacconist his limits,

and, as in a Turkish bazaar, the purchaser may go into the region he wishes to purchase an article from, and find many vendors of the same together.

Servants remain frequently a long time with their masters; indeed, with the Daimios, and other wealthy or old families, although serfdom and slavery are unknown, the adherents, vassals, or domestics are part and parcel of their wealth and consequence; and thus they live, like their forefathers, on the property of their masters, dependent on them, and boast of their fidelity to the house, and the number of years their forefathers have been in the family.

The humbler master treats his servant well: they generally eat, if not together, of the same food, and in the same room; but, as in Abyssinia or Arabia, where the natives take on their knees, or bent to the earth, the remnants of a cup of coffee, presented by their sheykh or superior; so if the master offers his servant a little tea with his own hand, he will go down on his knees, almost kiss the ground, and then take within his two hands the offered honour, and carefully sip it dry, not allowing one particle of the precious liquor to escape.

The Japanese are very early risers*: they are

* Almost the first thing the peasant (for I cannot answer for the nobles or even governors) or merchant does, on rising from his

generally up by four o'clock, and, as they have no beds to make, sofas, tables or chairs to dust, the housekeeper's duties are light, and the room soon converted from a sleeping-apartment into a shop or drawing-room, as required.

The charcoal fire is then lighted, the tea-pot established, and morning prayers said, for I believe that neither the men nor women of the family omit this practice wilfully. Then the "moosme" prepares the rice, which is a very important operation, requiring much labour and time. This is first beaten with a stiff, short besom, then carefully sifted, then thrown into fresh water, then re-beaten, then again drained and sifted, and any black or light pieces picked out, and then more fresh water. After this, it is spread out on a clean board for a short time to dry, and then thrown into the caldron. Only enough for each day's consumption and the matin déjeûner is prepared; and when it is served up it is most beautifully white, and each grain as dry and separate as if it were crystallised.

The other "moosmes" are peeling or preparing the vegetables and fishes, and as soon as they are ready, they offer breakfast, about eight o'clock. The next meal (precisely similar) is dinner at

mat, is to eat as much cold rice as he can, with water. In this he is joined by the whole family.

twelve. Tea, pipes, and sweetmeats all day long, and a third repast at six.

During the day the merchant has either been sitting at his low desk, about six inches high, making up his strings * of "cash," or bargaining with his customers; while the peasant has either been out with his cattle, irrigating his rice-fields or tilling his land; for if not very laborious, the Japanese are not to be called idle, nor is idleness approved of. Every one has some profession or calling; and even a Yakonin is not idle, for he has to keep his eyes open, watch everything, and report it too.

In the evening the family take a stroll, or go to a bath, or, if merchants and peasants, visit the theatres, where they laugh and cry, I am told, immoderately.

A Yakonin or any two-sworded man must not be seen in a theatre. Were he to cry he would be styled a coward, or were he to laugh he would be thought childish and effeminate. Therefore his recreation is only in the fencing-rooms, where with wooden swords he may practise on a rival worthy of his blow, and gain a warrior's reputation.

I never remember entering a house in the country without having tea, sweetmeats, and rice presented to me, as soon as I was seated. In fact the traveller meets with hospitality everywhere.

* These little iron or copper coins have a square hole in the centre, and are tied up in strings of one hundred "cash."

When arrived at an hotel I selected my rooms, which were directly dusted, swept, and arranged—tea, pipes, tobacco, fans, and water brought in, and though much exaggerated by "Punch," the picture he gave of life in Japan, some few years ago, was really a good burlesque description of its reality. The kind little "moosmes" all around on their knees, anxiously waiting for an occasion to anticipate a wish, and rushing as fast as their loose and flowing robes will allow them, to realise it. They would play with my little child, and do anything she wished, give her everything, and follow her in admiration.

Once this youthful imitator of Japanese habits was detected in the act of smoking a pipe with some other juveniles. I cautioned the O-bās-sān, or nurse in charge of her, against allowing her to do so again. A suspicious volume of smoke, however, was seen to issue from her paper window soon afterwards: as approaching footsteps were heard, a pipe was thrown out of the same convenient aperture. The child had been smoking again, but the O-bās-sān, rushing to the rescue, declared that she only had been smoking, whereas it was too evident, from the guilty face of the true culprit, and the odour, which even Eau-de-Cologne, lavishly resorted to, could not quite efface, that the nurse was affectionately endeavouring to screen the child at the expense of a kindly intended fib.

A few days after this the young naturalist was collecting insects and water plants, and seeing a pretty specimen on the surface close to a stone, from which a snake had only the moment before glided away, she wished to seize it; but the O-bās-săn tried to prevent her, from fear of the snake. The pond was not very deep, so the child said, "If you will not let me catch it, go and catch it yourself," and she deliberately pushed her into the pond. We heard the splash and rushed out; there was poor Nurse up to her waist in water. Of course we suspected the guilty one, and after helping out the O-bās-săn, were going to punish her, but the kind old creature, though wet through and dripping, declared upon her honour that it was her own fault, that she was drunk, that she had slipped and was very stupid, begging pardon for the trouble she had caused, and saying and doing all she could think of to save the child. Part was naturally believed, and the punishment not severe; but there was no doubt in our minds how she had been immersed, or how she was again affectionately protecting the delinquent from confinement and dry bread.

These are two instances of a good heart in a Japanese, and of love of children. The child and the nurse were inseparable, the one always making the nurse do whatever she pleased, the other delighted to obey the slightest wish.

The Japanese are very fond of visiting; the ladies are always paying each other long calls. They announce their intention; and, decked out in all their best clothes, with all their children and maid-servants carrying presents on trays, of sweetmeats, bonbons, and fruit, they go to the friend's house and spend perhaps half the day gossiping. The gentlemen rarely assist at these reunions; their duties being in the shop or field, and their leisure hours otherwise employed.

They never return, nor indeed does any one (except a pauper) ever think of going home or going out after dusk, without one or more lanterns. This is so general a custom, that were it only as a preventive of crime, it ought to be universally adopted by all foreigners for their own security, as well as on account of its being a time-honoured signal of respectability.

When presents are made, the parcel or box in which it is contained is tied round with a bit of red and white paper string, and accompanied by the never-failing piece of sea-weed *, neatly wrapped up in clean paper and bound with the same string, It is presented on a tray. The happy recipient is, by the laws of fashion, obliged to return this symbol of friendship, not as an Arab, who when

* The sea-weed is a preservative, and will last long. The meaning it is intended to convey is, May your shadow never be less! May you long be preserved in health!

he requires a good feast sends his chief a small fish or a few dates, thereby gaining a talent for an obolus; but in any shape, however small, the present *must* be acknowledged, or it is considered very bad manners. When we left Hakodate we were overwhelmed with presents, but, as it was supposed that we were taking our leave for a shorter or longer period, or going on a voyage, it was plainly told us that, in this case, no return was expected.

As a specimen of the manner in which marriages may be arranged, I will mention two cases which came to my knowledge. One was between two Japanese; the man was in the service of an European, and told his master that he was thinking of marrying, if he had no objection, but intended taking the lady on trial for a week. At the end of that stipulated period he informed his master that he had renounced her, as she did not quite come up to his idea of what a wife should be. She therefore returned to her home again.

The second case was between a European gentleman and a Japanese lady. The parties were agreed, the contract made, the conditions admitted, the parents satisfied, and the government officer's consent obtained, when the Consul of the nation of which the gay Lothario claimed the protection, interfered and forbade the banns under very severe penalty. The marriage was never so-

lemnised, for I believe that there was to have been some mock ceremony, some Gretna Green linking together; but the fair one became his mistress notwithstanding; for against that even a Consul's authority was powerless.

If there is one thing which disgusts Europeans more than another, and which is greatly to be lamented, it is the open and undisguised licentiousness which prevails in every rank of this people. Were one to believe all, or a portion even of what we are told confidentially, (but which is denied most positively at first, and afterwards only gradually and equivocally admitted by superior officers,) it would be revolting to all with any vestige of delicacy still remaining in them.

The public bath-houses have often been described. I have heard very much of the scenes some have witnessed, but with the exception of one ride at Yedo, when the bathers of both sexes indiscriminately sallied out to see us pass, from some twenty of their common cells, in all the natural simplicity of our first parents' costume before their expulsion, I cannot remember but one other occasion on which I was so fearfully horrified*; and that was on the first day we landed with Mr. Alcock, and went, with a band

* It is true that we lived in an upper street, and seldom, if ever, passed by these tenements, avoiding even their supposed proximity.

of music preceding us, to the Governor's Yămūn. On that occasion I remember the same indelicate display, and all the bathers of both sexes came out, unabashed and without the slightest idea or reflection that they were naked, to gratify their curiosity by a good long gaze on the novel spectacle.

At other times I could have seen the bathers, but then, to have done so, should have been obliged to lift up a veil of cotton or linen to obtain a glimpse of them. So, although they may have no sense of shame, and do not think it immoral or improper to expose themselves, I do not think that this exposure is so very common. Curiosity alone to behold unknown wonders may have at first started them from their watery caverns, and so have given us fair reason for accusing them of habitual indecency, when in fact it was only exceptional; for now, if a European attempts to draw the curtain before the house, he is received with storms of abuse, and told very plainly to go about his business.

This is at Hakodate; where I am well assured that men and women of the lower ranks *do* bathe together in perfect harmony and the most complete nudity. But what is the bathing at Leukerbad, or Barèges, or Biarritz, or Trouville, or Ramsgate, or Brighton? Is it perfect? is it always decent and irreproachable?

I have said that the blind, maimed, and deaf are treated with respect. This is not singular: in every country of the world, civilised or savage, grey hairs and deformity are ever, more or less, objects of veneration.

In Australia the savage considers the oldest man in his tribe as its sage, and the deformed as objects of peculiar regard. In Arabia the young man bows down with submission to the incoherent harangue of his senior of threescore years and ten — even in England, many may recollect the good old time, which, with all its faults, was a happy one, when sons said "Sir" to their fathers, and knew not the nickname of "Governor."

That was, however, before boys of fourteen smoked their black pipes, or beardless youths purchased ready-made moustachoes from Nathans and the outfitters of this age; before rail and steam were invented, or the march of intellect forced like asparagus.

Mary Queen of Scots, it is said, was the first importer of a looking-glass into England. That beautiful, yet unhappy woman, had got tired of seeing her image reflected in the faithless water, which revealed her charms, and too often, like a sycophant, reflected and exaggerated them. A piece of bright steel was substituted as a novel invention; but this same looking-glass had perhaps

for centuries been known in Japan. As it was then, so it is to-day; the bright and only mirror of beauty or ugliness. These steel glasses are evidently of very ancient date, and prove that the Japanese knew something which the elegant ladies of Athens and Rome would have given much to have known.

The Japanese moneys are another evidence that the Chinese were not their equals; for besides the superiority of their gold, silver, and copper pieces, the shape is so peculiar and unique, that I cannot help thinking that if they had copied from the Chinese, they would have adopted their forms, and not invented a new one. The Chinese, moreover, though the best imitators in the world, can never be accused of an inventive genius. Ages before we knew Japan we had traded with China, and all that we originally found in China we now find to be superior in Japan; so I conclude that knowledge and art came from these isles, and that as Japan was perhaps in the days of Noah and his sons, so it is to-day. The junks used by the Japanese are very similar to those used by all nations west of their isles; and as islanders are by force of circumstances sailors, their boats may have been the original models of all naval constructions. Unless Cadmus had the "gift of letters," the Japanese must have invented printing; for much as the Chinese character resembles the

Japanese classical character, and even admitting that this cipher did come from China (though it might with equal reason be contended that the Chinese borrowed their hieroglyphs from the Japanese), there was, and even yet exists, an old written language which dates from the beginning, according to the learned Japanese, who, proud of their country and its antiquity, attribute their origin to Chaos and Heaven.

The jealousy with which the Coreans, Chinese, and all the continental powers have ever been excluded, and the few scanty articles of their commerce which have been permitted to enter the only ever known open ports, are further evidence that the Japanese required few models, that they are now as they were in the beginning; and that perhaps when Petra was a capital, with green fields and noble forests around it, when Athens was the seat of learning, and Rome the mistress of the world, that the hermits of Niphon were as well informed as they are to-day, and that they may have retained the same primæval habits which, at the confusion of tongues and general dispersion consequent on the building of the Tower of Babel, were peculiar to those early times.

Providence may have had some inscrutable reason for allowing this nation to remain so long

isolated and alone; for although there may be no ruins of Palmyra, or Luxor, to denote any very ancient architectural grandeur, there can be little doubt of the antiquity of these isles, and of their being to-day as they were soon after the Flood.

As all learning came from the East, as Egypt and Assyria are supposed to have received much of their learning from India and China, as the wise men who saw the star of Bethlehem came from the East, and as I fully believe that Japan owes nothing to China, might not all the good things *we* know of and have improved upon, have originally emanated from this uttermost part of the earth? Might not all the world once have been as Japan to-day is, with its Kāmĭs and sun-goddesses? Might not the Apis and Osiris of the Egyptians, the Jupiters and Junos of the still more Western nations, have taken their origin in the veiled mysteries of one original Sintooism? Nearly all we find in the West that man actually wants, or by nature requires, either for food or raiment, is to be met with in the far East; and as it is almost universally admitted that the inhabitant of the nearest continent to Japan has never been even a temporary sojourner on its shores, we may infer that Japan furnished of her abundance to her neighbours, who in their good time

went and did likewise as they spread far and wide.

The nations of the West, from the first visit of Marco Polo to our own day, have left few traces of their presence, except in history and memory, and these not of the most grateful or pleasant nature. Few things, if any, were copied by the Japanese, so that all we find amongst them to-day cannot be confined to such late dates.

When Noah came out of the Ark, he selected Japan and colonised it with his sons; he then, as his family increased, advised them to emigrate, and finally they became so numerous, that to avoid dissension, and to obtain food for themselves and their flocks and herds, they separated, and as they could not very easily go east of the Japanese Isles, the inference is that they must have come to the West, and thus gradually the Earth was repeopled.

Thus Japan renovated the whole world; and in the manner of their living there is so much of the patriarchal simplicity, and in their government, laws, and institutions so much of the primitive kindness and severity, similar to that which we read of in the "Book of Books," that before such a wild speculation is entirely discarded, let us know a little more of Japan from her legends, literature, and history.

It would be curious in the nineteenth century,

for us to ascertain that the last known nation of the world was the parent of all others; and that while all the West "as they journeyed from the East," has been making such progress, the aborigines of creation "having been scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth" (for "of the sons of Noah was the whole earth overspread") should have left a remnant behind in Niphon to live in a primæval state of Nature, and reappear, as at this moment, to teach us what changes religion and education can effect, and what little progress is permitted by Providence in lands where the light of religion shines not, where education has been neglected or opposed, and where a reciprocity of thought has been pertinaciously debarred utterance.

Another instance may be mentioned, one out of many, of kindness on the part of my Japanese friends.

An officer of one of our great Eastern allies was very anxious to verify and fully determine the currents in the Straits of "Tsugar." He left us in a good, sound whale boat, and after a rough treatment by winds, overfalls, tides and ripples, was at the end of some sixteen days obliged, by stress of weather, to beach his boat and claim hospitality, though adequately supplied with funds and even Japanese specie. The circulating coin was kindly but peremptorily refused, but accom-

modation was procured, and food in profusion laid before them, the half-wrecked boat saved, and the bold seamen eventually escorted to Hakodate. Not one penny was asked for or taken. The Japanese, faithful to their Treaty, received the distressed mariners and conducted them to the Consul. The whole distance run by this officer during his absence of sixteen days, was only sixty miles, and it was near Cape Yĕtŏmō that he found a welcome.

The tides set in with terrific force from the Pacific and the Japan seas; coming from the S.E. and E. S. E., on the one side, and from the W. and S. W. and N. W., they meet one another in the very middle of the Straits. From any high land an observer may see such fearful concussions of the two tides, each running from three to six miles an hour, and such white sprayed overfalls, more like breakers than aught else, that he may wonder with much reason, how a ship can even with a fair wind, face them; and with comparative alarm, how, with a contrary wind, a vessel can beat against them.

It was not in these straits, however, that Her Majesty's ship "Camilla" was lost, for I saw her beyond Cape Sirya-saki. I knew them all, the commander, his officers and crew, and never did a British brig sail with a better crew, better officers, or a more excellent captain. .

I have still hopes of her, though feeble and faint, but I trust more to whalers and Russians than ourselves: and I sincerely hope, and believe, that we may yet have some news of some of the crew of this ill-fated ship, and that on one of the numerous adjacent islands of Japan some passing vessel will one day see the British flag in distress, and bear down to its rescue and relief.

May God grant that this, the most ardent wish of my heart, may be realised!

The whole line of coast from Hakodate to Nagasaki has, I believe, been searched thoroughly and fruitlessly; but as I do not yet despair of some traces of Franklin being discovered, and some vestiges of Leichhardt being ascertained, so I doubt not of hearing, sooner or later, of some portion of Her Majesty's ship " Camilla's " gallant crew being found on one of the numerous islands in the Pacific, whither the currents and the well-known pluck and talents of Colvile would naturally have directed the ship, more especially if she were in a most disabled condition.

There are no printing houses in Hakodate, for the press is not free; yet at Nagasaki any foreign book which has been approved of by the Dāīrī, may be translated and published. It is at the capital and at Miako, only, where original and pure Japanese books, charts, and pictures can be procured, and then with great difficulty, and perhaps

some secrecy; so jealous are these good people of our knowing too much of their antecedents.

The colouring of their pictures is remarkable; and although there is no attempt at perspective or proportion, still any one can read, as it were, the habits and customs of the country by a study of their pictorial pamphlets. The men are dressed as they are seen, the women in their elegance and finery, and with all their habitual ornaments, instruments, or personal objects of furniture in their boudoir. Every trade is faithfully delineated, the rich and the poor are minutely portrayed, and not the slightest appendage of domestic life is omitted.

But perhaps it is in diagrams, skeletons, and other surgical sketches that the Japanese excel. I have seen several of these books, and they are wonderfully correct: many, I fear, will say that these were copied from the Chinese, but, even if such be the case, the Chinaman borrowed them from the European, and therefore they are public property. But it is to the Dutch, I imagine, that the Japanese literati owe their thanks, for every rule has its exception; and there can be little doubt of the Dutch having long been their instructors in medicine, surgery, and mechanics.

Their books on natural history are very curious and clever: every animal, fish, bird, flower, or

tree, has been faithfully and correctly delineated or painted; and it is always a source of wonder, when an European naturalist takes up for the first time one of these works, for him to imagine how they could so well have executed it.

Japanese maps are not very clear to us; but every point, cape, bay, inlet, hill or mountain, all along and around the islands, has been put down; and a Japanese pilot or sailor can feel his way within sight of the shore, and perform his journey confidently and generally in safety.

This is Nambu, this is Shanday, this is Sirya-saki, and there is Fusy-yama, the demi-god of the Empire. Like the Arab, who has no better chart, the Niphon sailor will point to his primitive map, but still show you every spot marked down upon it, and say "there it is." Like the Arab, also, he will go forth from his snug anchorage at the dawn of day, make a fair offing, and then steer his true course until the shades of evening warn him to make for land again, and seek his night's shelter behind some well-known island or breakwater. They have a compass on board, but it is seldom consulted, and sometimes an aneroid or other barometer. They have telescopes, which, though rude to look at, are not at all to be despised, and they are bold and daring sailors.

Their lacquer ware I have already described; it is, at present, inimitable. The ivory carvings, ebony

and other hard wood ornaments, the bronzes and porcelain specimens, are all exquisitely worked; and as an instance of the value attached to them in England, I will mention that I, by mistake, sold several lately at Brighton for a few shillings, and, by chance, within a week of the sale, I saw the very identical pieces labelled in a respectable shop, at prices varying from 4*l.* and 5*l.* to 7*l.* each.

The bow-and-arrow was their weapon of offence in early days, and the armour they wore was almost proof against these missiles, although they would not resist a Minié rifle ball. The longer sword of the two is their weapon of attack, and a good two-handed blow has been known to cut a man in half from his head to his feet; but they are kept as sharp as a Sikh's sabre, and are always in *wooden* scabbards. The lesser sword is for close quarters and the noble suicidal Harikiri.

The Japanese can make anything: lamps, and globes for the lamps, *Chubb's locks*, jewellery, studs and chains, silver spoons from dollar silver, and, in fact, if Government officers did not interfere, as they generally do in every trifle, I believe there is nothing these skilful people could not make. They made for me almost everything I asked them, but they required repeated explanations, and took their own time.

The flowers of Japan, I repeat, are beautiful; so are the insects, which are really splendid in size,

colour, and varieties: the butterflies are as big as bats, and the air is full of them: the elegant may-fly is to be met with on the rivulets, gracefully dancing up and down, as on our trout streams and green meadows; the busy bee supplied us with very good honey; the ground often appeared alive with glow-worms; the stag-beetle, the hornet and wasp, small and large ants, with myriads of dear little insects on every shrub, or under every stone, would soon have filled the entomologist's tin boxes, and in his search after new specimens he would often come across old friends.

"Harikiri," felo-de-se, or self-suicide has been, from time immemorial in Japan, an honourable way of shuffling off this mortal coil. In nearly every large city there are professors of the art, and the admirers of it have their practice-rooms.

Any debtor unable to pay his creditors, and thereby disgracing his family, any robber suspected, any assassin detected, or any one who has received an insult, real or imaginary, which cannot be revenged, resorts to this ultimatum, satisfying thereby his own sense of honour, saving his friends and relatives from any penalties which might otherwise, on his condemnation before the law-courts, or other tribunals of justice or fashion, have devolved on his family, and going out of the world in the most approved and scientific manner.

It is not the mournful ceremony one might expect: I should almost say it is a festival, and an occasion for rejoicing. The friends of the family and the relations are often summoned to a collation. The best rice and saki are produced; the wedding garments are put on; and towards evening the wretched victim of this cruel and false sense of shame or honour calmly opens his vest, exposes the abdomen, and disembowels himself with a sharp-pointed knife, making two cuts in the shape of a cross. The great art consists in so nicely performing the horrible operation, that only the skin is opened and the bowels without being touched or incised protrude.

I heard of one case at Nagasaki, and there was a report of another at Hakodate, but at Yedo it is not uncommon. Instead of trying to prevent it, all the bystanders and witnesses will applaud the devotion and courage of the practitioner; and, whatever may be the cause or motive of his rashness, it is against every established principle in their miserable code of honour, to interfere in the least.

Mr. Alcock in his Dispatch, No. 3 (of 1860) to Lord John Russell, describing the murder of the Gŏteirŏ or Prince Regent, says "Two of those (the assailants) who fled, it is reported, finding their pursuers gaining upon them, deliberately stopped, and laying bare the abdomen, performed the 'harikiri;' it being a point of honour never to

interrupt or interfere, even for the ends of justice, with a man so honourably engaged."

By his own self-sacrifice he has satisfied the law, and saved his family from ruin and disgrace.

"Harikiri" is not to-day so fashionable an amusement as it was in the "good old times;" either there are fewer ambitious artists now-a-days, or Insurance Companies have been started, and disapprove of suicide; but, be the cause what it may, it is now of rare occurrence.

During several months I was engaged in purchasing horses for the Chinese Expedition. One day we had some races on the beach, challenging all the neighbourhood, and offering prizes. The two Governors, with all their officers and a large retinue, attended, as also did nearly all the European residents in Hakodate, and a large assembly of natives. The Japanese were the jockeys and took great interest in their horses; for they were divided into stables of twenty-five each, with one chief "betto" or groom, and each was anxious that one of his lot should bear off the palm. The course was about three-quarters of a mile, and there was great excitement whenever the victor appeared before the Governor's tent, where the prizes were distributed. The pace was not very alarming, nor were the riders very elegant; for in place of nice light saddles they had pack-saddles; in lieu of bridles, halters; and for top-boots and

buckskins they had nature's pantaloons, with a blue flowing vest, and a white cloth tied round the temples. However it was amusing, for the horses in this country are always accustomed to go in strings, one after the other, and it required much coaxing and talking (for the Japanese are very fond of talking to their horses) to persuade them to break through their old habits, and get away well; but when they had their heads turned back again to the stables, then they would step out bravely and come in at a rattling pace.

The Governors were delighted, for all great officers in Japan enjoy sport and manly exercises, and they promised to give us in return a specimen of Japanese horse-racing.

Accordingly a few days afterwards I was invited to witness their races, and was much astonished at the great crowd attracted by the expected fun. Flags on every house, garlands, banners, long-poles with streamers, and huge paper-fishes, which as they became inflated by the air, hovered over us in monstrous ugliness, lined the long broad street of Kamida, for the race-course was between two rows of houses, and every verandah was crowded with occupants of both sexes.

At a given signal some thirty horses started off amidst shouts and yells, and went away as well as they could, their riders not being extremely anxious to go too fast, for, as it was soon discovered, the

qualities and perfection of a horse in Japan are not estimated or tested by his speed, but by his powers of endurance.

So the thirty horses, after going up and down this street as long as they could, gradually fell off, tired and beaten, until only one remained. This was declared the winner. The race lasted quite an hour, and at intervals, a fresh batch took up the running.

It was stupid work to us, and as the day was hot, we left early. The winner of the great race was a horse belonging to the Prince of Matsmai, who had sent him all the way for this Derby of Yezo.

I afterwards found out that this is an annual meeting, and that many officers look forward to it, as we do to a fair, in order that they may buy or sell an animal. One horse was sold on that day for 100 dollars (20*l.*), a very heavy price indeed for this island. Of course as any kind of gambling is strictly prohibited, and even sometimes punishable with death, there was no betting on any race.

While on the subject of racing, I may allude to the sore question of Europeans or foreigners riding in towns. In Japan, none but officers with two swords are permitted to enter the gates of a town on horseback, and even these ought to be of a certain rank. An attendant with one sword must dismount at the entrance-gate; and as for a mer-

chant or any of inferior rank, they are not allowed to ride at all, near a town.

In fact, the privilege of riding is limited to a man of rank. He will be followed by most of his Yakonins, with two swords, on foot, and every one will have to make way for him.

A doctor or priest may ride, but not his people. Beyond the gates, but *not then* in the suburbs, a peasant, or merchant may mount his steed; but, should he perceive an officer approaching him, he must immediately dismount, take his horse on one side out of the pathway; and, perhaps, if it is a man of consequence, have to throw himself on his knees and make obeisance to the great cavalier.

Riding on horseback, as in a norimon, is a sign of rank. Galloping in the streets is forbidden, or only allowed to Government Officers and Daimios. In fact, as in France where one often reads this notice, "Defense de galloper dans la rue," or in England where furious riding is not only prohibited but legally punishable, so in Niphon there are notices to the same effect.

Soon after my arrival my own Yakonin, with two swords and a red scarf with V. R. upon it, was ordered to dismount. He was riding close behind me. I happened to know the officers, and told them that I could not permit such inter-

ference, and directed my man to remount, which he did, and rode home with me. The Governor heard of the affair, and sent most kindly as I was in the act of writing to him about it, not only to offer explanations but to make some excuses. After the explanations I thought that he was quite right; and I promised him that no Japanese servant of mine, unless with me or my family, should ever ride in a town again, he kindly admitting that as his officers followed him on horseback, I also was entitled to that privilege.

But he wished me to prevent riding in the streets, and applied to my colleagues also for the same purpose. As he was not then aware, that European merchants are thought rather more of in their several countries than Japanese merchants are in theirs, I believe he was vexed and astonished at my inability to prevent it.

There is no doubt that the sight of a foreigner on horseback, unless known to be an official, is an eyesore offensive to their pride, as a breach of old-established rights. It was one of the innovations they are in constant fear of, as tending to weaken their antique privileges.

In Nagasaki several foreign cavaliers were roughly handled, and many complaints made of furious riding; but when the authorities, at last listening to reason, became convinced that respectable people could not be prevented from taking

their horse-exercise as in their own homes, they gradually though reluctantly gave in, expressing a hope only that furious riding in the streets would be punished, and that Japanese servants and Chinamen would not be allowed to take advantage of the concession.

I am glad to see that Chinamen are forbidden to ride. They are only the servants of the foreigner, or if they are more, then they ought to be at Nagasaki; which by treaty is the only port at which they are *themselves* allowed to trade. As for the Japanese servants, although by Article VIII. of our Treaty we may "employ them in any lawful capacity," we should not allow them to infringe the regulations or laws of their country: and I moreover consider that, by a violation of them, even if in the service of a treaty-having foreigner, they are as liable to punishment as before our arrival and employment of them.

Shooting, again, or what we call sport, is not viewed by these noble conservatives with the kindest eyes. When I first arrived at Nagasaki, a notice was handed me that the use of fire-arms was prohibited.

Now there was no prohibition of this in the Treaty, although in Article III. of the Port Regulations, communicated to Admiral Stirling when the Convention was signed in October 1854, it

was stated that, according to the law of Great Japan *, no firearms should be discharged.

Soon after our arrival at Nagasaki a Japanese was accidentally wounded by a sportsman's gun; and much fuss was made about it. At Hakodate I went out snipe and quail-shooting twice, and many other Europeans did likewise. No attempt was ever made to stop us, until, by accident, a man was again wounded in the town, when the Governor tried to prevent it and referred me to the Convention above named. It was then decided that any one firing in the town, unless in self-defence, should be punished on conviction.

The Japanese, so long accustomed to bows and arrows, to swords and spears, did not like our guns and revolvers at all, and wished to put a stop to our sport as well as riding. But in my opinion they will not succeed, for all Englishmen are fond of shooting, and none more so than our naval officers, who are fond of combining amusement with exercise. The Japanese gentlemen are fond of sport, and will attack a bear single-handed with a stout straight sword, having their left arm and fist enveloped with a stout leathern glove studded with sharp iron spikes. This they plunge into the animal's mouth; they will thrust the sword into his

* Is it not rather singular to observe that the islands of Japan are here styled collectively "Great Japan," even as our islands are *en masse* called "Great Britain?"

heart. Should they miss their blow or be in danger, the hunters rush to the rescue and finish the engagement with their pikes and spears.

The Governor during his last cruise told me that he had himself killed a fine stag with a revolver I had given him; and once, when the "Cruiser" was at Hakodate, we got up a "chasse à l'ours," and the Governor himself very kindly lent us his "grand veneur" to show us where the bears were to be found. We were out two days, saw plenty of snow, and some traces of foxes and hares, but nothing else.

I mention this to prove that the Japanese officers shoot, and have no objection to foreign officials shooting; but they cannot imagine how a merchant should be entitled to such favour.

They are aware, also, that their own "akindos" will soon find out that foreign "akindos" are allowed to ride and shoot, and perhaps be alarmed lest the example be imitated as wealth accumulates.

This was another innovation, which the Government saw with pain as a leveller of their old distinctive principles; but I never went out riding or shooting without meeting many native sportsmen, who eagerly demanded and gratefully accepted a charge or two of powder and shot, they themselves using only a small ball with wonderful effect and precision.

A disgraced officer (by no means a rare individual) is not allowed to wear his two swords in a town. An officer who may have any mercantile or other business avocations, is not permitted to wear his two swords in the cities, but must content himself with one. On his going into the country or on his resigning his commercial occupation, he is, however, at liberty to resume his two swords. Disgraced officers are generally sent to superintend, if not to labour at, the working of mines, and, as with us, are condemned to that servitude for a certain number of years, when they may return and recover their former position with all its honours and distinctions.

Everything is much dearer in Japan now; already the cry is that the foreigners are taking off too much; but this is of course absurd, and only a political rallying-point for the conservative party and the disaffected. Perhaps more silk and tea were *suddenly* and *at once* exported than the Government had expected or foreseen, and the inhabitants immediately around the opened ports may have felt a little pressure and some inconvenience, and may even have found a small increase in their expenditure; but that will be soon rectified when easy transit is allowed, and an unfettered intercourse, free of official interference, is permitted.

Government officers, however, have assured me,

that they are now obliged to pay for one dress as much as would have purchased two complete suits two years ago, and that they are universally demanding an increase of salary.

The Governors are comparatively well paid. They have, as I was assured by one of them, 1000*l.* a year; and that is a great deal of money to a Japanese with his simple requirements, and about equal to the salary of a French préfet.

The Vice-Governors probably have 400*l.* a year, the higher officers 250*l.* as a maximum, and then the scale descends rapidly to the interpreters, who are all officers and frequently of good old families. They receive from 50*l.* downwards to 12*l.* per annum; but even this is wealth compared to what the labourer obtains, — twopence a day, or about 3*l.* a year, and his run of the rice-bowl and spring-water, with a dash of green tea on feast days and holidays.

My old Ōchău at the Tēră, Shĭŏmĭōdgĕ, had a painted paper game, played with a single die, not unlike the "Old Mother Goose" of our nurseries. The fun of the sport is to reach the emperor's private room, and after innumerable mishaps and adventures, which often take a very long time to overcome, the thrower may be successful in entering it.

The Tycoon is not on the best terms with the Mikado, nor does his Holiness adore his satellite.

supremely. At Miako I was informed that all the print-shops are full of anything but flattering caricatures of the Emperor; while at Yedo and Kanagowa the most unbecoming notice is taken of the father of the Japanese Church. These prints afford as much amusement to the Japanese as "Punch" or "Charivari" to a Londoner or Parisian; but those depicting the Mikado's private life are only to be met with at Yedo, and the Tycoon's adventures at Miako, where their several respective courtiers highly enjoy the pitiless satire. If by chance the pictorial caricature of the Tycoon should be discovered in Yedo, or, vice versâ, the Mikado's celestial countenance in Miako, woe to the unfortunate vendor and his incautious subscriber. A visit, for the natural term of their lives, to the golden mines of Sadosima would be, at the least, the sure and inevitable consequence.

The celebrated Mount Fusy-yama, 12,000 feet high, is as sacred to the Japanese as Ararat to the believers in the Old Testament, Parnassus or Athos to the Greeks, or the Aventine with its relatives to the descendants of Æneas, and as celebrated and famous in song as Mont Blanc, "the monarch of mountains," or the Pic du Midi. The lovely air of the great poet of Bixon, Despourreins, is known to all the visitors of Pau, "La haut sus las mountagnas," and Fusy-yama has also her muses; but I only seize this occasion

of reminding my readers of this holy, venerated, and lofty mountain, because I have an idea that passports originated in Japan, and were thence introduced into Europe, and that therefore France had a primeval precedent and sanction for their issue.*

It appears that, on the demise of a Japanese, his body is burnt, and that his soul mounts to *αἰωνιον*, or the everlasting abode of perpetual bliss, after having performed certain ceremonies, and having gone through the ordeal prescribed as indispensable to its reaching the acmé of delight.

One passport is demanded at the base of the mountain, where it is officially viséd by the benevolent priests, and, if found "en règle," he naturally takes his fee and passes it on, till the soul of the departed meets with a volcanic Charon, who avariciously demands his obolus. At the next ferry or ladder, a second pass, with the original passport, duly fortified with all legal and necessary signatures and seals, is demanded, and so the poor soul has to pay, even to the last, for his exit from this world of woe. This second purgatory passed, the happy defunct breathes celestial air; and no doubt, having paid for his ambrosia, may look down with bowels of compassion on Sisyphus, Æolides, and all our mythological acquaintances.

* This is another plausible reason for my assertion that learning came from the East.

In plain English, it requires two passports to reach the summit of antediluvian Fusy-yama; but once there, the soul of the departed can look down upon the scenes of earthly trial it has left in the vast abyss of human misery below, and enjoy, floating high above the storm's career, the prospect of indescribable bliss.

May the poor soul eventually reach our Christian Heaven, and be received (for "in my Father's house are many mansions") in pity and compassion! Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, each have their distinct idea and peculiar expectation and hope of entering these regions of eternal repose. So also have the Japanese; but perhaps it may now be the design of the Almighty to show them our way, and to allow us to prove to them that only *one* passport is necessary; that there is but one real and sure way, and that Noah was only a type of the one great Saviour and Shepherd of mankind.

Charon might have come originally in his boat from the far East, when it was very calm, to the Corea; but the wind has shifted, and if religion and learning did come on the wings of the east wind, it may now be the will of Providence to allow us to revisit these shores, not only as merchantmen seeking Phœnician dyes and the gold of Tophir, but as pioneers of Christianity and heralds of that creed, that faith, and that blessed

religion, without which every man living is but vanity.

My dear friends, the Japanese, appear to be in want of a religion. They will cautiously and singly admit that they have none, or, at the best but a spurious imitation of the one they desire to imitate. They have once felt the thrill, the vivifying heat of the Gospel, and the embers still glow. They have heard of our fathers and their devotion, of their trials and martyrdoms. They have heard with their own ears what our fathers have handed down to them of "the noble works done in old time before them," and I believe that the time is not far distant when, by the will of God, the isles of the East will join together with the lands of the West, and sing the same songs of peace,—and not in a strange land, for God is everywhere. If to-day "they are entangled, and the wilderness hath shut them in," there may be other voices to rebuke the mighty typhoons, which no well-intentioned but unmeaning instruments of Pagan worship were ever predestined to drown eternally.

And how is this faith to be preached? Balaam could not curse beyond the commandments of the Lord; even if Balak filled his house full of silver and gold, but he advertised what this people should do in the latter days. And who is this

people? It is Christendom! The different members of it must rise up and go to their place at the convenient season.

And who are first in the field? As they were in the sixteenth century, so they are now, the energetic and devoted Roman Catholic missionaries, not the good and perhaps equally zealous Protestants.

The Roman Catholic missionary is an educated man, an enthusiast, as he ought to be, but at the same time generally a man of gentle blood, and refined taste; whereas our missionaries, in the first place, are not often Englishmen, and though paid and supported by British money, rarely of the same stamp or quality as the "célibataire" of the "Missions Etrangères."

They both may be good, but one is best. We want no itinerant livelihood seekers, but gentlemen of the Church of England, who having heard the word and understood it, are able to go forth and bring "their thirty, sixty, or hundred fold" into their granaries.

And are there not many willing to go? or must we send abroad to the Protestant nations, with whom our "alliance is necessary," for the proper men, and then pay for them? I have heard British Roman Catholics say that where they are ordered to go, there they go. I am sure that there are many ordained clergymen who

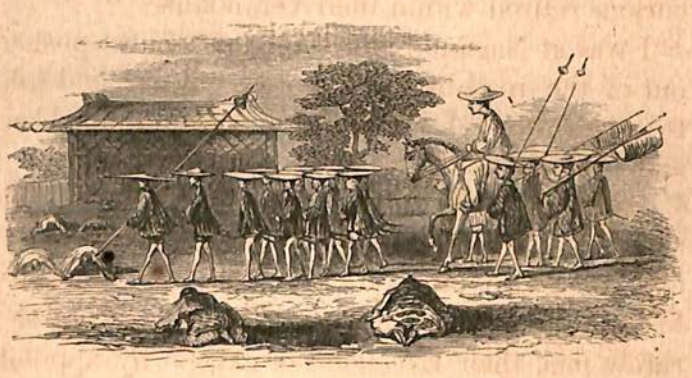
would sally forth with ardour, and after learning the language, preach it efficaciously.

There is but one lesson to recollect. By once interfering with the politics of this people, Christianity, which had taken deep root, and was well nigh becoming the religion of the empire, tottered and fell; but still has left behind, even in its ruins, traces of its former influence. Avoid politics, but preach religion.

At Nagasaki and Hakodate the Governors are of course very important local personages, but as the imperial territories around either of these ports are not very extensive, they are not overburdened with those vast retinues we read of as accompanying the more powerful nobles at Yedo. Still, when the Governor of Nagasaki or Hakodate does go out in state, his suite is one of considerable importance, and its passage may occupy some minutes, the train extending nearly half a mile in length.

The Governor is saluted by every one; and before him, around him, and behind him, are the spears, the umbrella, the despatch-boxes, carried by one-sworded servants, with the other insignia of his rank; and numerous attendants are ready to command respect and make the people retire on either side of the road his Excellency is about to follow. I never saw but once the obeisance described in the illustration here given at the two

ports mentioned, but every one who did not form part of the cortége would either retire within his wooden house, or courteously stand aside until the great man had passed. When the Daimios arrive, they perhaps meet with even more reverence than the imperial Governors, according to their rank, the multitude of their followers, and traditional importance. They are bound to pay an annual visit to the Governor, which they do not much relish,



JAPANESE GOVERNOR WITH HIS RETINUE.

and on the march, and particularly on entering a town or village, their jealous attendants exact perhaps more homage for their illustrious masters than even the Yakonins of a Governor presume to care for. Still the Governors of Hakodate and Nagasaki are treated with every respect, and were any even apparent demonstration to the contrary attempted, the aspiring democrats would have to pay dearly for their rashness.

When a Governor pays a visit of ceremony or state, the road or street is sprinkled with sand in the centre, and his Excellency is either carried in his norimon along this pathway, or walks or rides upon it; and the cross roads or streets are jealously guarded by police-officers, who restrain the people from interfering in the line of march until the whole cortége has passed along. The streets are then often deserted, or peopled only by the curious retired within their verandahs.

I was at Nagasaki and Hakodate almost pushed out of the road by these zealous officers, and told to make way. I did not leave the road, however, and subsequently explained to each Governor that I could not really pay him that compliment, but should require half the road for myself and party, and that he should return my salute each time after his own fashion. This was acceded to; but as I rarely met their Excellencies except by appointment, and otherwise generally, if possible, avoided them in public, I only once or twice had occasion to go through this ceremony.

At Kanagowa, however, a suburb of the capital (indeed, as much a part of Yedo as Chelsea and Blackwall are of London) the Governor is a much more important person than at the other two ports, and the Daimios are constantly going to and returning from the capital.

Their trains are enormous, and their passage

will require from half an hour to an hour and more. They are mighty men, backed by proud and insolent adventurers for attendants, who clear the road without any regard for person or nation, and compel the rabble to do obeisance to the grandeur of their chiefs. At Yukohama, indeed, I remember walking with the French Minister, when two Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs were paying a visit to the Governor, and no person, except M. de Bellecourt, who was known to their Excellencies, and who politely saluted him as he passed them, was allowed to break the line. Everywhere I there observed the submissive Japanese on their knees, or in the act of making their obeisance; but it was done as a matter of course, had been the habit for centuries, and was perhaps considered by them to be no greater humiliation than our capping or taking off of hats. Indeed, it is not long since our knees were wont to bend to princes, while, in the days of good Queen Bess, her passage through the capital was almost as submissive a spectacle.

The Chinese servants, proud of their minority, and relying on the protection of the British flag, would stand up boldly during the passage of the ministers, and no doubt the sight was far from pleasing to men who have been so long accustomed to regard these Celestials with any other feeling than that of inferiority. The foreigner

would generally allow the cortége to go past quietly without interrupting it; indeed, did any one wilfully attempt to break the line, he would find remarkably active policemen at hand to indicate him another route. But once the novel spectacle has been witnessed and curiosity has been satisfied, the foreigner will more frequently allow the mighty man to pass unheeded and unthought-of, thinking more of his merchandise, and the consequence to himself of the interview between these authorities.

I have already described the Tea-gardens. They are to be met with everywhere, and are, according to their locality and dimensions, as I have mentioned, as respectable as our inns, hotels, or pleasure-gardens. As soon as the European traveller enters one, his horse or norimon is immediately cared for; a clean room with a pretty little garden near it is prepared; sweetmeats are offered on bended knees; then tea, rice, and fruit, on lacquer trays or in porcelain cups, are brought in, with the never-failing charcoal-burner for the soothing pipe, and pretty little hands for Vesuvians.

If the traveller wishes for repose or quiet, he is left to himself, and may enjoy such sleep as the thin wood and paper houses of Japan will allow him to expect. If he wishes for gossip, he will find the mistress of the house, with her daughters

and servants, ready to amuse him and explain all they can, enjoying the fun, and participating gaily in the mutual embarrassment, which the ignorance of each other's language naturally occasions.

The better Tea-gardens are generally to be found near some pretty spot, selected for its view,

A TEA-GARDEN: A MAID-SERVANT PREPARING TEA.

or on the banks of the rivers and canals, and answer much to our inns.

The poorer traveller is equally welcome; but for him there is no private room. The great entrance-hall has the never-failing tea-kettle in the centre; rice, fish, and vegetables are speedily placed before him in profusion; and he is attended

by one of the maids on her knees, with as much care as if he were a great seignior. At night the mats, which had been seats all the day, are beds, and the whole floor is covered with a mass of happy sleepers.

The ladies sleep by themselves, the gentlemen have their quarters. The next morning, with ceremonious bows to the landlord, the traveller pursues

JAPANESE GIRL WALKING.

JAPANESE GIRL SITTING.

his course, and can for a few copper cash refresh himself, when weary, and satisfy his hunger and thirst as often as he likes.

Some of the gardens at Yedo are, I have been informed, splendid specimens of taste and art, studded with ornamental lakes, on which are flocks of aquatic birds, and planted with the rarest and most beautiful trees and flowers. The houses

or pavilions in these sylvan retreats may be better polished and more neatly finished, but they have little more furniture than the very commonest Tea-house. They may be larger but not loftier, with more pictures and richer screens, but otherwise they are all on the same principle.

Of course the rich man or officer has silk for his mattras, and rejoices in silk cushions, has his tea in fine old lacquer bowls or thinnest porcelain cups, eats with silver chopsticks, instead of wooden ones, and has to pay for these luxuries if not brought by himself.

For a pic-nic or a party of pleasure, a garden may be hired for the day, and then it becomes for that day private property. A very considerable sum is often demanded for this gratification, which answers somewhat to our trips of pleasure to Richmond and Greenwich, and I am assured they are quite as expensive, if the aliment be not quite as substantial.

The taste displayed by the Japanese arboriculturists is here to be seen to perfection—dwarfed pines, oaks, elms, willows, cherry and other fruit trees, with the orange, lime, and numerous other beauties, are elegantly and artistically combined, and the ferns, orchises, and other creepers or aquatic plants are really as scientifically arranged as at our very best botanical expositions.

These are, however, the Tea-gardens of the capital, resorted to only by the princes and wealthy men. The common tea-house and garden, met with everywhere, is a very useful and pleasant halting-place, but has few attractions except cleanliness and a neat appearance. The traveller is certain of meeting a kind reception, which at Yedo is still problematical.

All Japanese officials are of importance; they are clever, and are vested with special powers for each special subject. During the discussion necessary for the arranging of the matter they have but one idea, how best to settle it: a neat equivocation is quite allowable, and a good, plain, and yet ambiguous fib is their masterpiece of diplomacy.

The gentleman represented in the next page was a very clever specimen of a Japanese officer, known to many of us; and if he has not that character, and those features, which are supposed in Europe generally to indicate talent, I can assure you that he was one of the most astute and dangerous men we had to encounter, and that his curiously shaped head contained deep thoughts, very perplexing to broader and higher foreheads.

I only once saw the high officials in their full dress, on the occasion of my visit on New Year's

Day to the Governor, when they and all their immediate ministers were splendidly attired. The peculiar lacquer head-dress, like a goodly wedge,

A JAPANESE OFFICER.

but of lighter material, tied under the chin, was very striking and not to my eyes elegant or con-

venient; but it was a sign of rank, and, as such, the wearer was naturally proud of it. As a protection against heat or rain, it was useless. The silk cloak was more full and flowing, the trousers large, and the overcoat of expensive fur. The best and richest swords of state were girded on for the occasion, and the cleanest sandals and socks adorned the feet. In this costume the Governor is, as if aware of his dignity, stiff and important: indeed, he must have some difficulty in moving or turning his head. But as the visit was purely formal, I was glad to make it as short as possible: on other occasions, a discussion, if not always agreeable or successful, was free and unceremonious.

A Japanese officer's evening dress is handsome and yet plain, it is all silk; and there is little difference between that of the Governor and his immediate subordinates in office. The moon or "crest" of the family is on each shoulder, and on the centre of the back of the outer coat; and much importance is attached to this, for pride of family and ancient lineage is as much cultivated and thought of in Japan as in Europe. The two swords and fan are inseparables; the hair is scrupulously clean and tidy, the teeth perfectly white, and the hands and nails attentively cared for.

A clean white crape next to the body is the sign of a gentleman, as the white skull-cap under the red tarboosh denotes the Turkish or Egyptian gentleman.

Hats are only worn in very hot or rainy weather.

CHAPTER XIII.

A FEW WORDS ON JAPANESE MONEY.

THE base of Japanese currency is the "sapec" or "cash," which varies according to the rate of exchange as in all countries, and it was one of the grievous errors of all diplomatists that, when the Treaties were signed, no fixed standard of exchange was established.

The "cash" is of iron, 1700 to an "itzaboue," and is the only real circulating medium, as the centime in France, and the farthing in England.

The "cash" is nearly the only coin which the Japanese *people* see or know; the gold and silver moneys are hoarded up by the Government and princes, and only used by them for the payment of salaries and the wages of *employés;* but as labour and service are chiefly paid in kind, in rice, grain, and stuffs, a very small amount, even then, is in circulation.

The princes have their ōbāngs, a piece worth

at least 10*l.*; but this is so rare that it seldom leaves their treasuries: it is a curiosity and a bank-note.

The cobang was once to be purchased for four itzaboues, or six shillings and eightpence of our English money: it is now worth nearly 1*l.* 2*s.*, for the immense quantity exported at such a remunerative benefice, and the enormous drain on this hitherto preciously hoarded metal, gave the Government reason to reflect, and calculate its intrinsic value.

It was then discovered that the thousands already sold had been sold 200 per cent. below their value; and when the foreigners could buy no more at their accustomed cost, they became clamorous. But the Japanese do not like gold to leave their shores: they have their superstitions or their fancies, and to prevent the ruinous export they equalised their gold coin to the standard weight of the foreigner's gold.

This checked at once a lucrative commerce; but surely the Japanese were, by every law human or divine, duly authorised to protect their currency. We were not the adventurers of a Cortez enriching themselves at the barbaric palaces of Montezuma; ours was a Treaty of friendship and reciprocity. Gold was leaving the country in masses, and it became imperative on the Govern-

ment to establish its equality, and when that was done the drain ceased.

The other gold coins are:

s.	d.		value.
3	4	The itzaboue (gold) . . .	4 francs
0	10	The nichou (gold) . . .	1 „
0	10	The nichou (silver-gilt) but larger than the gold nichou . . .	1 „

The silver coins are:

1	8	The itzaboue	2 francs
0	5	The ichou	½ „

The copper coins are:

0	1	The tempo, or 100 cash . . 2 sous
0	$\frac{1}{10}$	The ten cash piece (copper) . 1 centime
nil		The iron cash . . . . nil

When I first arrived at Nagasaki the circulating medium was "paper." A printed bank-note called a "tael" was issued to foreigners at the rate of 4800 cash to the dollar, and much business was done with this imaginary specie; but no one would accept it beyond the pale of the Treasury.

In July, 1859, a new silver coin called the "half-itzaboue" was introduced, of the same standard as the Mexican dollar; but as, on one side, there was a notice to the Japanese not to take it, as it was only good for foreigners, its reign was short.

This coin came from Yedo. Some say the

cause of its introduction was to confine foreign trade to the Government officials, to prevent direct commerce with the native merchants, and to show to the people of Japan that, although Treaties had been made and signed with foreigners, it was not for a moment contemplated that the intercourse should be unrestricted.

But so much has been written about this matter that it will be unnecessary to devote a long chapter to it. I will therefore refer any reader, anxious of knowing more, to the "Blue Book," "China Telegraph," and other papers connected with the East.

Suffice to say that gold *was* bought at one-third of its value; that the Japanese discovered it and stopped the export; that copper (although prohibited) was, even with the sanction of the Yakonins, who were blinded by bribes, shipped off in quantities; but that now all metals have found or are finding their true value by the natural consequences of trade and its gradual but sure requirements.

When the imports equal the exports silver also will find its level, and all we can desire is, that the exchange will soon be in our favour.

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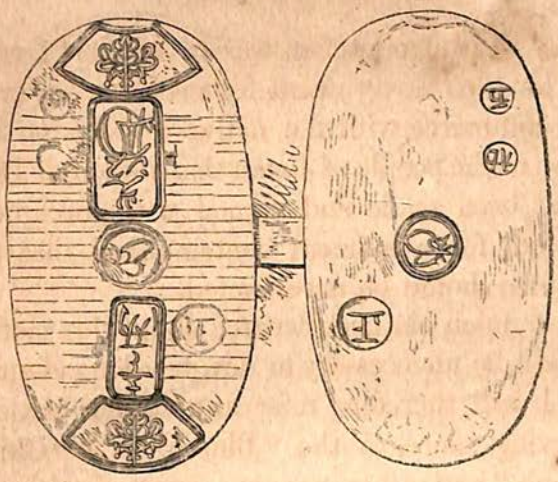

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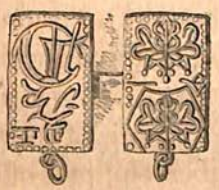

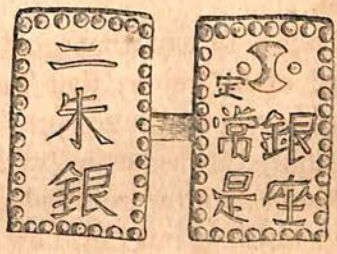

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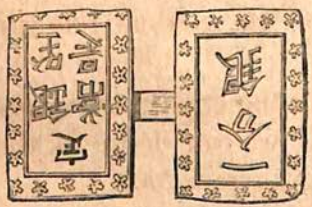

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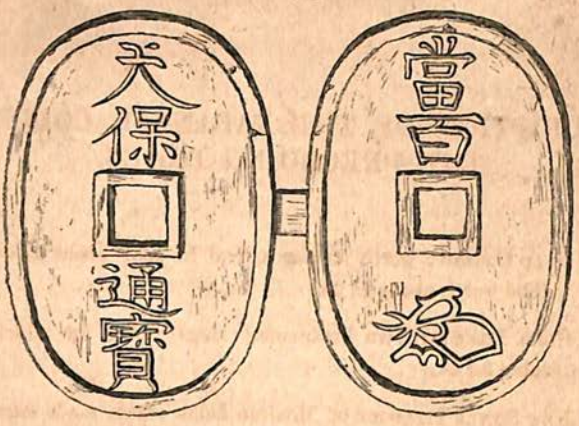

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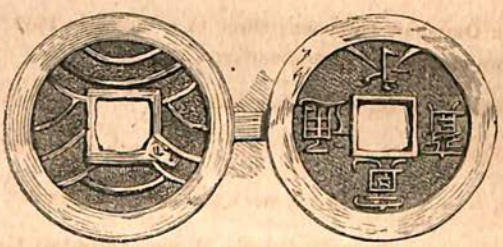

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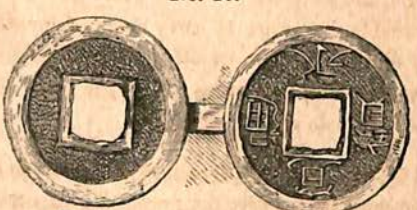

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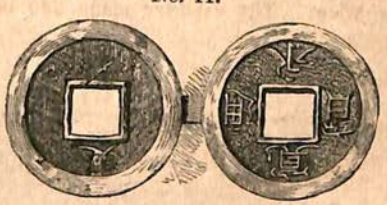

DESCRIPTION OF THE JAPANESE COINS ON THE PRECEDING PAGES.

No. 1. Gold Cobang; worth on our arrival in 1859 about 6*s.* 4*d.*; in 1860 worth about 1*l.* 1*s.*

2. Gold Piece of Two Itzaboues; rings added for a brelogue, value 3*s.* 4*d.*

3. New Silver Itsaboue of Mexican dollar silver, made expressly for foreigners; two to one dollar; weight for weight.

4. The Original Itzaboue; three to a dollar in 1859; in 1860 two only were sometimes offered.

5. A very Old Silver Ichou; worth 5*d.*

6. A Nichou, half silver and half gold; worth about 10*d.*

7. The New Nichou; with more gold in it, and smaller.

8. A handsome Piece of Copper Money; fifty-two for a dollar in 1859, and forty-six in 1860. The square hole in the centre is to enable the owner to carry many of them more easily, a piece of rope, bamboo, or other flexible matter, being passed through the hole; and thus all copper coins are carried, and exposed for sale at the exchange.

9, 10, and 11, are other copper coins; and one can easily discover the precautionary notice for preventing exportation of copper coin; it is cheap, and was nearly the only coin the Japanese people knew. The exporter made 200 or 300 per cent. profit.

CHAPTER XIV.

POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF HAKODATE.—RUSSIAN SETTLEMENTS.

For many years we have not known what the Russians have been doing in the East. We have heard of them in Siberia, on the Amoor, at Nicolaiesk; we have known that they had an embassy and college at Pekin, when we had not; that they obtained tea from China direct, overland; that they received news from the East sooner than we did, but we did not know how; that they were doing something somewhere in the Japanese waters; but it was only after our little mishap at Castries Bay that we discovered that the Russians were far more conversant and far more intimately acquainted with these seas than ourselves.

It may have cost them dear, for the "Diana" was unfortunately lost off Simoda in a most inexplicable submarine tornado; the "Askold" was at one time almost a wreck, but miracu-

lously saved to reach Cronstadt; and the little "escapade" in the Gulf of Tartary was very near being what it ought to have been — but it failed.

The failure, however, produced good effects. Fresh water was found where no fresh water was expected; the Gulf of Tartary was proved to be an open sea, with a very convenient outlet into the North Pacific; and the larger part of the island of Sagahlien, with the whole of the Kurile Islands, were found to be Russianised.

Thus from Kamschatka to Yedo there was a very convenient chain of islands which no power but Russia would ever have thought of longing for, much less of taking possession of. Unfortunately England did not know all this, but Russia did. Her polar bears had walked across from land to land, and exchanged cards with their "confrères" of Sagahlien. The invitation was accepted, and the visit returned. The volcanic isles rose up like spirits from the frozen deep, to afford these rude visitors a stepping-stone, and in 1855 we first hear that the flag of Russia is waving in Japan, and that the Okhotsk Sea has a natural and, in case of need, an artificial barrier.

And who can blame the Russians? Their ports in the west are often frozen in; the length of the land is greater than its breadth. If the plains

or steppes of Siberia are waste and desolate—if there be not 70,000 souls from Irkoutsk to Nicolaiesk, there are mines to be worked, and iron to be procured. There are steamers to be made or sent round the Cape; and the good things of China may be sent overland more safely, and the route to America may become nearer. The provident Russians are wise in their generation; but did they calculate on the seasons? or did they not, like Napoleon, when he gazed on his eagle floating on the Kremlin's top, forget this rather important calculation?

Where is their harbour? You may skate or sledge a long distance, but from Castries Bay to Nicolaiesk it is dreary work, especially for guns and merchandise.

A harbour must be found, say the Russians. Sagahlien is searched. Tonquien Bay is found, but no safe anchorage. A little lower, coal—ah! warm your hands, you are getting hotter on the scent. Where are Shanghae, Hongkong, and India?

Sagahlien is a pretty place, but no port. Let us cross over. Castries Bay is very good, but only open for four months; but then the ice! Barracouta Harbour, or Port Imperial? What splendid pines, what glorious timber! but during eight months of the year we can never see your foliage, and the ice is very thick. Port Seymour? this is

better: let us advance. Hornet Bay? a convenient place to come out and leave our sting behind us. Victoria Bay? well, this might do; but let us play "God save the Queen," and go down yet a little lower. Such is fate. Broughton Bay is occupied, and from Nicolaiesk to Broughton Bay, if not to Tsusima Island, all the coast of Mantchouria and the Corea is Russianised.

But to the east we must have a port; there is only one poor roadstead in all Sagahlien. Up to Port Seymour we are frozen in nearly three-fourths of the year. Let us cross over. Hakodate is close to Shanghae, Hongkong, India, and all those choice spots we love so well, not to colonize, but only to visit from time to time. Hakodate will do.

And there we are; but as the Black Sea is almost a "mare clausum" by convention, and the Baltic by nature, it is but natural that Russia, whose winter roads are far more easy to travel on than even her rivers and lakes, should wish to introduce a new system of "transit,"—ice tramways, for instance. Sledges and caravans can go from Nicolaiesk to the first Russian railway station in forty days. The teas and silks of China may be conveyed this way. A small *schooner* will come from St. Francisco to the same port in from forty to fifty days, and sell American notions at a very profitable percentage to themselves, and a very

considerable advantage to the consumer, which in this case is the Russian Government itself.

But a port is required, and must be had, say the Russians. Steamers have not yet steamed across the vast Pacific; they may soon do so; but until this fact is realised, we must have a shelter in that grand breakwater to the Japanese sea. Let us make offers to the Princes of Nambu, Matsmai, and others. Let us offer them the protection of our double-headed eagle, and as there is no doubt that all Japan was once Russian or Mongolian (for have we not exhumed plates and other relics * with Russian hieroglyphs?), we shall find that the old links will easily be rejoined, though centuries of ice and distance have separated us so long.

I say not one word against Russians or Russian officers. The latter all are gentlemen and charming companions, and without the Gijette, Japonitch, and, above all, Commodore Popoff's kindness, I do not know how we should have passed our first winter in Hakodate. But I must give my opinion, and, what is most singular, all my information is derived from the Russians themselves. They do *all* so well, so thoroughly, and with such "franchise," they disguise nothing. No, they tell you, "We have taken this point and fortified it:

* It was never ascertained how long these plants and relics *had been* under ground.

it was necessary. We have found coal there, and claim the mines. We have ships at Nicolaiesk, but they are all frozen in; so many building at Kamschatka, where there is beautiful timber; and then the few we are graciously permitted to bring round the Cape. These altogether will make a nice little squadron; and should the happy day arrive that we could make a descent on the devoted Elysian shores, our thirty-two and sixty-eight little houris would thunder back the Bomarsund bullets, and make little 'Eknesses' of Hongkong and Singapore."

We must have a harbour in Yezo. But the Russians have not yet got Sagahlien. Ten thousand men dispute their right to it, and do not recognize the link in the chain which they pretend connects their modern Romanoff with the descendants of the sun-born goddess.

Their overtures to the Princes of Matsumai and Nambu have failed. Treaties of friendship have been signed between the Tycoon and other powers; and, if not offensive and defensive, there is a little silent voice about them which few can hear without reflection, and a quiet tone which none can misinterpret. Japan is to be integral; Japan is to be as we found it, for the benefit of the whole world.

Princes have often betrayed their compeers;

brothers cannot yield up their flesh and blood intrigue may flatter itself on its success, but the counteraction is inseparable from humanity.

Such, then, are our politics in Japan, as far as regards Hakodate and Yezo. The port is never ice-bound; it is the turnpike-gate between America and the Pacific on the one side, and the Japanese Sea and Russia on the other—for it is useless longer to disguise the fact that all Mantchouria and the Corea is to-day Russian.

Offers have been made, force has even been tried, but both have failed. Hakodate is an open port. It is our duty to keep it open, and support the Japanese, who can and are well able to second us in maintaining their position: and now that, unfortunately, our brethren of America have entered upon a civil war, the task will be less difficult; for I have no doubt but that the United States had silently encouraged the Russian Government in her designs against the devoted Hakodate.

All that the Russians required was a port. Matsumai and its prince was to be nominal monarch, *pro tem.*, of the island, until a convenient season came. The entrance by sea to Hakodate might easily be defended by Russians even against a British and French squadron, such as we are likely to find in those seas; but by land on the east side it is not impregnable at present. Still

Hakodate, in the hands of a European power, might become a Gibraltar or Aden.

The Russians have only four or five months in each year to make good their entry to Nicolaiesk; for, early in November in 1859, one or two Russian gun-boats were obliged to return to Hakodate for their winter quarters, after trying in vain to break the ice and reach even Castries Bay: they were detained until the following month of June.

What is the sum of all this? A few years since, I believe it was silently understood, between the American and Russian Governments, that Hakodate would be of greater utility when in the possession of a foreign Eastern power than it was then; but, what with wars in Europe, the distance from either capital *, and the new Treaties, matters became so confused that the originators of the conception were completely baffled — and so it is. Yezo was to have been a Russian appendage to the Kurile Isles, but now, thank Heaven! it is still Japanese: and I trust the Treaty powers, if not from love of these kind friends, will, even from selfish motives, coalesce and maintain its inviolability and its integrity as part of the Tycoon's dominions. If not, although they may beat them at their ports, where of course

* No United States man-of-war visited Hakodate during my stay there.

they will stop trade and commerce, they will find a brave and hardy race ready to defend their shores, burn their villages, set loose their waters, and retire where all Europe will quake to follow them.

Our great point is no doubt to make a perim of Tsusima Island, a magnificent port with an outlet, right and left, for any man-of-war; wood, water, and a most hospitable race to welcome us, and a very elegant and convenient little drawbridge between the Mantchourian ice and the silk regions of China.

What with railways over Siberian ice, and telegrams to Nicolaiesk in a few minutes, our prestige in Japan will not be the grandest. To finish on the political importance of Hakodate, the following little incident may be related.

It was at a private meeting of great men: the highest functionary asked me which is the greatest nation in the world (after Japan, it was understood)? I said that in my opinion there were five great nations, viz. France, the Germanic Confederation, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, and that Turkey, Sardinia, Spain, and Portugal were secondary powers.

Q. Russia is a first-rate power?

R. Certainly.

Q. France and Great Britain first-rate powers?

R. Certainly.

Q. Very good: Sardinia and Turkey are second-rate powers?

R. Yes, but of great political importance.

Q. Are they great powers?

R. Yes, very useful ones.

Result. Then, by your own confession, you admit that two first-rate powers and two second-rate powers fought for two years against Russia, and you were obliged to go away — at any rate, that you were glad to go away; so Russia, who could conquer four great powers, must be a grand nation.

It was useless to discuss the question. I did my best; but the Japanese have still an idea that the Emperor of Russia is second only to the Tycoon of Yedo.

CHAPTER XV.

NATURAL HISTORY, METALS, ROCKS, FLOWERS, BIRDS, OTHER PRODUCTS, ETC.

THE great sources of the wealth of Yezo, or rather what will eventually prove to be so in our international commerce, are the precious metals and the timber.

Matsmai has long been celebrated for its gold mines, which, though now supposed to be rather exhausted, or from some political reason not worked, it is said still merit their ancient reputation. I have constantly been assured, that the mines are as rich and pure as ever, and that there is no real, sensible diminution in their produce, but that the Government is not very anxious to startle the foreigner by revealing all its riches at once, and so blinding him by a too great refulgence. It prefers a gradual display of its secret treasures; and as all mines are either the property of Government, or of a prince more or less bound by the general voice of the Empire, and as

the men employed are not the free and daring gold-diggers of Australia or California, but either convicts condemned for a longer or shorter period, or political prisoners banished to the Siberias of Niphon, it is easy at a moment's notice to stop the diggings and announce a complete failure.

The north-east point of Nambu has long been famed not only for its gold mines, but for all its precious metals and precious stones; but with exception of very large blocks of black crystal, I have seen nothing valuable. Still all the Japanese assure you that the north of Niphon is one large continuous bed of gold and silver.

I remember my old friend, Tăkĭnăoūchĭ Sĭmōdze Kēnč Kami, one of the Governors of Hakodate, assuring me that pearls were frequently met with in the Straits of Tsugar, and, as a proof, he one day brought us a specimen, with great ceremony. His secretary handed him a box, and after, with due care and precaution, undoing some six or eight paper envelopes, the curiosity was produced; but it was a small specimen of a bad pearl, about the size of a pin's head, and worth little or nothing

The Japanese seldom, however, use any ornaments except on their swords, and the ladies wear little but silver; all the gold is melted down and transformed into lingots, obangs, and

cobangs, and then piled away in the palaces of the Daimios.

There are several islands around and near to Matsmai and Nambu, which are or have been always renowned for their rich veins of gold; but it is now very difficult to obtain a sight of it. Indeed, at Hakodate, this metal, even in coin, was so rare, that, though I frequently requested the Governors to let me have specimens only, I as a great favour obtained but one imperfect collection.

No doubt but that, after July, 1859, the orders were most peremptory and severe, to hide the gold as much as possible from the foreigner, and keep him in entire ignorance of its existence; but, from all the reports gradually extracted from the Japanese officials and merchants, there can be no doubt of Matsmai and Nambu having long yielded a very constant supply of this precious metal in all its purity, and that there is still supposed to be an inexhaustible amount of it.

Silver is also to be obtained, so report says, from the isles to the west of Matsumai, from the province of Shanday to the south of Nambu, from Nambu proper, and from the islands in the vicinity of Nïēgātă. Of gold I have found traces myself on the road to Cape Yezan, and any amount of quartz, but I never came across a vestige of silver. Suffice it then to say, that it is generally supposed

to be in sufficiently large quantities and of superior purity, or eight per cent. beyond the standard of the Mexican dollar.

The itzebous are beautifully made up in four rows of twenty-five each, and little packets like a pack of cards, neatly wrapped up in paper and tied with paper strings, for paper in Japan acts as a substitute for many things. I never saw plate in Japan; but the rich had silver chopsticks, silver pipes, and their wives large silver hair-pins.

The iron mines of Yezo are also a sealed book to us; but I found a black sand on my road to Cape Yezan, very heavy and full of iron, in the bed of a river. This excited the curiosity of our party, and on following up the stream we came upon an iron foundry in activity. A number of men, women, and children were washing and sifting the sand, and a little further on large cannon and other arms were being cast: so, unexpectedly, did we discover a secret, which had been jealously kept from us, whence came the large and numerous cannon which bristle now all along the coast. The officers in charge were all civility, and as we had by accident found out their forge, they told us that in the mountains around there was a considerable quantity of iron ore, but that Government had not yet contemplated the working of any mines, the supply of rich metal extracted from the sand being sufficient for present purposes.

They presented us with several specimens of iron pyrites, which the geologist of the Prussian expedition pronounced to be rich.

The lead mines are comparatively no secret, and are frequently visited by all Europeans, being only some sixteen miles from Hakodate. They are worked under Government officers, by men, women, and children, and the same wheel bruises the rock or ore and draws up water for the washing. Already the passage into the mountain is some hundred yards in length, and, considering that it is barely two years since the mines were opened, or worked, except superficially, great progress has been made; a good road has been cut down the valley, and some considerable quantity offered for sale: 85 per cent. of pure ore has been obtained, and even more might be produced, could Europeans be allowed to superintend the *exploitation*. But the Japanese are too jealous of such interference, and would fear to arouse the displeasure of their gods, if they permitted foreigners to meddle with their subterraneous mysteries.

There is one copper mine, about twelve miles from Hakodate, which is being worked; but the Government is perhaps even more sensitive of our obtaining any information about copper than about gold, because they remember the enormous profits which the Portuguese and Dutch in early times were reported to have realised by it; and

there is an express prohibition in Article X. of our Treaty against the export of copper coin. Indeed, it is a vexed question whether any copper, except a very nominal and surplus supply, as specified in Regulation VII., can be bought or sold at all; and even then the surplus is fixed and regulated by the Government.

For the ships which want coppering, there is each time a special Japanese jury appointed to determine the amount required for the repairs; and although, by Article XI. and Regulation II., any British vessel compelled to take refuge or "needing repairs" is entitled to immediate assistance, still the officials will, under the protection of Regulation V., limit the quantity of copper demanded to the very barest amount their own never very liberal estimate has decided on.

The north of Niphon is full of copper; Nambu and Shanday are in fact metallic beds, and as they are as near to Hakodate as Kanagŏwa, and from some points even nearer, we may expect that a considerable portion of these metals, when the exportation is free and unfettered, will find their way to the only yet open port in the north.

Again, to the north-west of Yezo, in the neighbourhood of Cape Soya, I was told that copper was abundant; while from the islands of Kiusu and Sitkof we have had proofs of its being not only plentiful, but excellent.

All the temples, public buildings, corners of houses, and junks, are lavishly ornamented and protected with this valuable metal. We may observe, in any casual walk through the streets, such a profusion of copper utensils, and such a display of it in bar, squares, nails, bolts, sheets, and every other form, that it really seems astonishing that, with such apparent masses, the Government should be so remiss, in not availing themselves of the intentions of the Treaty (Regulation VII.) to its own pecuniary profit.

I have already described the sulphur in my excursions to the volcanoes. Its purity is wonderful, I am assured by a geologist at Brighton; and I may freely assert that there is an almost inexhaustible amount of it in Yezo and the adjacent isles.

There must be a considerable quantity of tin in these islands, for it is a very common thing to meet with a tinsmith's shop, and one cannot pass through the streets of Hakodate without being reminded by a constant beating and hammering of its presence in kind, and the employment it furnishes. Where sulphur and iron are, tin may naturally be expected. A few nodules have been presented to me as tin pyrites, and I have no doubt but that they were such.

The coal beds are all over these islands. From Nagasaki and Fizen to Yezo, and even Sagahlien,

there is one continual succession of fields. In this, as I said before, Japan resembles Great Britain, and would appear to have been created by Providence to hold that position in the East which we, through our coal fields, as much as anything else (always excepting our religion), hold to-day in the West.

The mines of Japan have hitherto been only superficially worked — every offer from Europeans has been sternly rejected; the Princes of Fizen and Bungo have mines within easy access of Nagasaki, but they either dare not, or will not, allow them even to be examined. The result is, that the thousands of tons of coal sent down for sale are often worthless and despised, and that the commanders of men-of-war and merchant-vessels prefer giving the Hongkong prices for Sydney, or even British coal, to the dried slaty specimens sent alongside their ships.

But this must cease. The good sense of the Japanese will sooner or later understand the requirements of the foreigner; and the day is not far distant when the transit to Japan and China, *viâ* Panama or San Francisco, will be accomplished within forty, instead of sixty days.

In addition to the precious metals and other valuable minerals of which I have given a slight description, I will briefly enumerate a few of the rocks and stones met with by me in Yezo:—Basalt

on the route to Cape Yezan, felspar and greenstone also in small quantities on the same road; granites red and grey, the red very close-grained, but the grey with a large preponderance of mica; silex, but no chalk; rock crystals, agates of beautiful hues, cornelians, amber, scoria, and pumice stone, with other varieties of lava; talc and alum; petrified woods, but no fossils; sandstones in huge round boulders, as in Australia; yellow ochre, a few attempts at argillaceous breccia, and pipeclay. Future naturalists may discover much more that is valuable, and which I have neglected to mention; and my feeble attempt at briefly describing a few of the geological specimens and products of this beautiful island may be corroborated by them.

To revert to the woods and forests of Yezo in a general and summary manner; for in my four excursions I have mentioned all the trees and flowers I could name, and Sir William Hooker has most generously embellished my narrative with an authentic list of Japanese plants received by him from the different amateurs and collectors in these islands. With such a list from such a study, it would be presumptuous in me to say a word.* But a few of Yezo's beauties must

* In a letter received from Sir William, I find, however, the following gratifying paragraph: "Here are sixty-nine plants well prepared; some are new, and cannot be yet 'named;' others are

be mentioned. And the grandest of these are the oak and pine. I sent home a description of the oaks, officially and privately, and was very much gratified to find out that His Grace the Duke of Somerset had mentioned to Admiral Hope "the desirableness of combining some botanical researches with any expedition to Japan."

It may fearlessly be stated, that there are as fine oaks in Yezo as in any part of the world. If not of the umbrageous character of our wide-spreading specimens, which, from their being often isolated or unconfined, have naturally had height and space to extend their branches *ad libitum*, yet of such prodigious trunks, and such apparently sound wood, that they are fit for the construction of any man-of-war in the world.

The forests in Yezo are as dense as the scrubs of Australia or the jungles of India. The nobler scions raise their glorious heads and tower over the humbler sycamore, chestnut, and maple tree, which in their turn seem to despise the more lowly hazel-nut, elder-tree, and Guelder rose (*Viburnum tomentosum*). Beneath these again the blushing rose peeps out, the tea-tree meets the

very rare and new to us, and all are interesting. Some of them were found in Japan before. The plants of the Orchis family, and that called Arisema (a kind of *Arum*), are quite curious."

eye, the myrtles scent the air, and the bramble forms a bower for the snake and lizard.

Nor is this all: the eglantine and clematis, the creepers and tall shuttlecock-shaped ferns, the hop plant, golden willow, and convolvulus, with a variety of vitex, and rhododendrons, form a network of virgin impregnability. To pass through one of these maiden forests is a work of time and labour, which the axe, tomahawk, and compass can alone accomplish. Then the frequent rivulets, streams, rivers, lakes, and morasses full of nymphæas, lotus, and parnassia. Then again, the hills covered to their very summit, and the ravines clothed to their very base; without mentioning the unknown inhabitants of these unexplored retreats. A man must be both an enthusiastic naturalist and sportsman to persevere; but notwithstanding every difficulty all is so fresh and beautiful, that one does persevere.

The pines are not so lofty as the araucaria, or so elegant as the deodara, but, like the oak, they also are prisoners; but what might they not become when planted on the English plan! Many I saw had a clear trunk of seventy feet with a girth of nine to twelve feet. Many looked like the stone-pine of Italy, but the majority resembled more the *Pinus sylvestris*, although I have no doubt but that many varieties will be found.

The *Laurus Camphora*, or camphor tree, with its red and black berries, is another lord of the woods. This is very valuable for the white, fragrant tears it distils, and it is magnificent from the proportions it assumes and its deep, dark, and umbrageous foliage. I always fancied it preferred the highest points, and it looked very handsome there, as also near a temple, for the Bonzes (who have a particularly refined taste for flowers and trees, and are excellent arboriculturists) generally patronised a few around their tĕrăs, as our forefathers in early days did yews in their churchyards.

The *Rhus Vernix*, or lacquer-tree of Japan, has a fine leaf, rather like our beech, but broader. Never having seen it, however, I can only mention its leaves, the old Governor having sent me a few plants when I left Hakodate, with some specimens of the *Bignonia tomentosa*. It is from the milky sap of the "Rhus" and the subtle oil of the Bignonia, previously mentioned, that the real Japanese lacquer is procured.

The tea plant or tree grows everywhere; it is as common in Japan as our hawthorn or privet. The cherry, peach, and plum tree! I never saw such a splendid floral spectacle as these fruit trees afforded me for an entire month in my old garden at Hakodate. The green lawn was covered with a forest of them; and the richest and most beautiful

double flowers, pink, white, and variegated, which bowed down their delicate weeping branches, really made me feel that I was in a ball-room with elegant and choice "coiffures" around me, until I came to my senses and remembered that the best taste could never equal nature. Nor were these alone; there was a profusion of azaleas and a variety of camellias, of many hues, beneath, about, and around them, the grass being often white with their petals and pink with their blushes.

The *Pæonia officinalis*, or "Bōtān" of the Japanese, is a splendid shrub, with sweet-scented crimson flowers, and much revered by the Bonzes. I once rode out with three of the fairest of our European flowers (my child was one), and we came to a couch by a rivulet with weeping willows and wild roses on its banks. Out came the crochet and the sketch-book; but nothing could equal in my eyes the sweet ottoman we had selected; it was a dense and soft mattress of lilies of the valley with their green leaves and white bells, orchises and dwarf roses (*sans épines*), then some relation of the lily, and last of all the graceful and pendulous convallaria (of Lincolnshire), hanging as it were over us, and forming a little family circle, so sweet that, after the snows of winter and a five months' confinement within our wood and paper prisons, it appeared like a glimpse of Paradise or Eden.

The juniper in Yedo becomes a large tree, and is frequently met with all along the coast. The daisy and butterflower remind us of home; and, go where you will, I do not think from my experience that there is a more lovely or more varied flora in any district of this earth, than is to be found within the ten ris of Hakodate.

Since sheep are not known, cattle almost sacred, and swine till lately prohibited, it may be inferred that the natives of Yezo are not great customers for the butcher; and had the Europeans not been provident and brought their supplies from China, they might have hungered often and in vain. But yet Yezo has something eatable; in South America horses are considered a delicacy, so in Hakodate are bears. What's in a name? disguise it well, and give it some other name, a bear's steak will then turn out as pleasing to the taste as a "bifteck aux champignons." We had venison, however, in quantities, cheap and good, and fine hares, as white as the snow around us in winter, and grey in summer. Foxes and wolves were brought to the door of the omnivorous European and offered for sale, but generally refused. So there are animals in Japan, although their name is not legion. I must not, however, forget two marine animals, which, if not good for the table, are particular favourites with ladies—I allude to the sea-otter and seal, which furnish valuable furs: the

skins of the latter were sold at Hakodate, two years ago, at 2*s.* each.

I have already spoken of the fish: there is not, I believe, a sea in the world so well stocked with excellent fish as the Japanese; and when one remembers that it is the great staff of life to the natives, that they make barrels upon barrels of oil from it for eating and for cooking, that they export all they can, not only to their adjacent isles but to China also, we may be astonished that there has been no salmon-protection society inaugurated. The quantity of fish seems inexhaustible, and it is both good and cheap; but one gets tired even of the best of fish when it becomes a standard dish at breakfast, lunch, and dinner, and when one knows that the alternative is "eat or starve."

We had a very decent and regular supply of game during the winter, but it was dear. Silver pheasants came from Nambu, partridges from Sataki; and at Hakodate we found very good quail, enormous snipe, and wild geese, ducks, and wild fowl in quantities.

Singing-birds are perhaps rare (or, living so much in the town as I did, I may not have heard them often), but small birds seem numerous. The eagle, the hawk, the raven, the crow, and the little impudent sparrows, were always about our tērā. The goldfinch and linnet, the titmouse and tomtit, the thrush and lark, are denizens of

the neighbouring pine-grove and underwood; but they will not sing there long unless it be in cages, for the fishing village of Hakodate is soon to become a city, and the little birds will have to find another resting-place.

All the metals and minerals I have mentioned may be, and will in time become, free exports; then Yezo will produce something. Awa-bee and erico, the celebrated "Bêche de mer" and "sea-slug," are and have long been the great article of foreign trade. But Hakodate has other things to furnish the world with—viz. fish-oil, and dried fish; sea-weeds of many kinds, gall-nuts, planks, sulphur, lead, potatoes, even silk and tea (for, as I have said before, Nambu and Shanday are as near the northern port as the southern), deer-skins and horns, and many other things which help to fill up a ship; and when the merchant finds coal, sulphur, and lead for ballast, gold, silver, and copper to fill up the interstices, he will not object to topping it with sea-weed and fish-oil, or a few bags of awabee and other little things.

The harbour of Hakodate is safe and large; it is difficult of approach, but when the seas on either side have been thoroughly surveyed, the danger will have been more than half averted.

CATALOGUE OF JAPAN PLANTS,

SYSTEMATICALLY ARRANGED,

COMMUNICATED BY SIR WILLIAM HOOKER,

THE extensive group of islands belonging to Japan has been very imperfectly explored botanically, and the plants named and described are scattered through a great variety of publications, of different countries, and written in a variety of languages, which render it no easy task to form such a catalogue from them as shall give an idea of the general nature of the vegetation, and be an encouragement to many travellers and residents in Japan to form collections of well-dried specimens, which cannot fail to be very valuable to European herbaria, and would be sure to be turned to good account in preparing some more elaborate and practically useful flora.

With such an object in view, Mr. Black, the Curator of the Herbarium at Kew, has drawn up the accompanying list, which contains the great bulk of the plants described or noted as having been found in Japan *since* the publication of Thunberg's "Flora Japonica." It has for its basis the enumeration of Dr. Von Siebold and Professor Zuccarini, and contains those of the distinguished American Botanist, Dr. Asa Gray, derived from the collections of the United States Missions to Japan; also all those that have appeared from the pen of the Dutch botanist, Dr. Blume, in his "Museum Lugduno-Bata-

vum," and in his "Bidjdragen;" together with those of Morren and Decaisne in the "Annales des Sciences Naturelles," and of the late Dr. Kunze (chiefly ferns), in the "Linnæa." There are besides included various plants of Japan recently published in gardening and other miscellaneous journals; and a few unpublished catalogues from specimens in our own Herbarium, principally derived from collections received from our British Minister in Japan, R. Alcock, Esq., from Niphon; from C. Pemberton Hodgson, Esq. (such are here indicated by an asterisk placed *before* them), while H.B.M. Consul at Hakodate in Yezo (one of the most interesting of the islands, and the most corresponding with England in its climate); and from our late collector in China and Japan, Mr. Wilford; to say nothing of others of minor importance. Thunberg's many dubious species are in all cases omitted in the enumeration. The species thus known and described amount to about 1600 — phænogamous plants and ferns. We may soon reckon upon a considerable increase in number, especially through the researches of a very promising collector, Mr. Oldham, recently sent out, under the most favourable auspices, from the Royal Gardens of Kew.

W. J. Hooker.

• *September* 15, 1861.

Ranunculaceæ.

Clematis paniculata, *Thbg.*
fusca, *Turcz.*
Sieboldii, *Don.*
biternata, *D. C.*
japonica, *Thbg.*
florida, *Thbg.*
stans, *S. & Z.*
Williamsii, *Gray.*
patens, *Morren & Dcne.* (*cærulea, Lindl.*)
flammula, *L.*
apiifolia, *A. Gray.*
Thalictrum rubellum, *S. & Z.*
actæfolium, *S. & Z.*
hypoleuca, *S. & Z.*
affine, *Led.*
Thunbergii, *D. C.*
Anemone cernua, *Thbg.*
japonica, *S. & Z.*
umbrosa, *Led.*
altaica, *Fisch.*
*baikalensis, *Turcz.*
narcissiflora, *L.*
dichotoma, *L.*
Hepatica, *Gærtn.*
pensylvanica, *L.*
Adonis sibirica, *Patr.*
Ranunculus japonicus, *Thbg.*
asiaticus, *Thbg.*
ternatus, *Thbg.*
auricomus, *Thbg.*
sceleratus, *L.*
*repens, *L.*
propinquus, *L.*
var. hirsutus.

Caltha *palustris, *L.*
Trollius, sp.
Coptis *trifolia, Salisb.*
brachypetala, *S. & Z.*
anemonæfolia, *S. & Z.*
Isopyrum japonicum, *S. & Z.*
Anemonopsis macrophylla, *S. & Z.*
Aquilegia Bürgeriana, *S. & Z.*
*flabellata, *S. & Z.*
Aconitum chinense, *Sieb.*
japonicum, *Thbg.*
Cimicifuga fœtida, *L.*
racemosa, *Bart.*
cordifolia, *Psh.*
Trautvetteria japonica, *S. & Z.*
Actæa spicata, *L.*
Pityrosperma acerina, *S. & Z.*
obtusilobum, *S. & Z.*
biternatum, *S. & Z.*
Pæonia Moutan, *Sims.*
officinalis, *L.*
albiflora, *Pall.*
Glaucidium *palmatum, *S. & Z.*

MAGNOLIACEÆ.

Illicium religiosum, *S. & Z.*
Bürgeria stellata, *S. & Z.*
*obovata, *S. & Z.*
salicifolia, *S. & Z.*
Magnolia hypoleuca, *S. & Z.*
var. concolor.
Kobus, *Dcne.*
parviflora, *S. & Z.*
Michelia, sp.

BERBERIDACEÆ.

Berberis Thunbergii, *D. C.*
*vulgaris, *Thbg.*
japonica, *S. & Z.*
Nandina domestica, *Thbg.*
Epimedium Muschianum, *D. C.*
macranthum, *Dcne.*
violaceum, *Dcne.*
Ikariso, *Sieb.*
Aceranthus diphyllus, *Dcne.*
sagittatus, *S. & Z.*
Caulophyllum *thalictroides, *Mich.*
Diphylleia cymosa, *Mich.*

SCHIZANDRACEÆ.

Kadsura japonica, *S. & Z.*
(*Uvaria japonica, Thbg.*)
Sphærostemma repandum, *S. & Z.*
(*Trochostigma repandum, S. & Z.*)
*japonicum, *A. Gray.*
(*Maximowiczia chinensis, Rupr.*?)

MENISPERMACEÆ.

Cocculus japonicus, *D. C.*
Thunbergii, *D. C.*
Stephania hernandifolia, *Walp.*

LARDIZABALEÆ.

Akebia quinata, *Dcne.*
lobata, *Dcne.*
clematifolia, *S. & Z.*
quercifolia, *S. & Z.*
Stauntonia hexaphylla, *Dcne.*

NYMPHÆACEÆ.

Nelumbium speciosum, *Wild.*
Euryale ferox, *Salisb.*
Nymphæa, *2 spp.
Nuphar japonica, *D. C.*

PAPAVERACEÆ.

Papaver somniferum, *L.*
Rhœas, *L.*
Chelidonium *majus, *L.*
uniflorum, *S. & Z.*
(*japonicum, Thbg.*)

FUMARIACEÆ.

Pteridophyllum racemosum, *S. & Z.*
Eucapnos spectabilis, *S. & Z.*
(*Dielytra spectabilis.*)
Dicentra *pusilla, *S. & Z.*
Corydalis ambigua, *Cham.*
decumbens, *Pers.*
*incisa, *Pers.*
heterocarpa, *S. & Z.*
pallida, *Pers.*
linearifolia, *S. & Z.*
orthoceras, *S. & Z.*

CRUCIFERÆ.

Nasturtium amphibium, *L.*
*officinale, *R. Br.*
palustre, *D. C.*
Cardamine *scutata, *Thbg.*
(*trifolia, Thbg.*)
*impatiens, *L.*
*macrophylla, *Willd.*

Draba nemoralis, *Ehrb.*
(*muralis, Thbg.*)
Capsella *Bursa Pastoris, *Mœnch.*
Brassica chinensis, *L.*
(*orientalis, Thbg.*)
Sinapis cernua, *Thbg.*
japonica, *Thbg.*
Raphanus sativus, *L.*
Arabis *hirsuta, *Scop.*
*lyrata, *L.*
*japonica, *A. Gray.*
alpina, *L. var.*
Turritis glabra, *L.*
Matthiola annua, *Sweet.*

CAPPARIDEÆ.

Gynandropsis viscida, *Bunge.*

BIXACEÆ.

Hisingera japonica, *S. & Z.*

VIOLACEÆ.

Viola canina, *L.*
imberbis, *Led.*
Patrinii, *D. C.*
*sylvatica, *Fries.*
*verecunda, *A. Gray.*
palustris, *L.*
japonica, *Langsd.*
Gmeliniana, *R. & S.*
var. glabra, *Led.*
grypoceras, *A. Gray.*
laciniosa, *A. Gray.*
Selkirki, *Pursh.*

POLYGALACEÆ.

Salomonia striata, *Juss.*
Polygala japonica, *Houtt.*

PITTOSPOREÆ.

Pittosporum Tobira, *Ait.*

CARYOPHYLLEÆ.

Stellaria uliginosa, *L.*
(*undulata, Thbg.*)
*media, *L.*
Dianthus japonicus, *Thbg.*
*chinensis, *L.*
caryophyllus, *L.*?
*superbus, *L.*
Silene firma, *S. & Z.*
Lychnis grandiflora, *Jacq.*
Senno, *S. & Z.*
Honckenya *peploides, *Ehrh.*
Mœhringia lateriflora, *Fengl.*
Sagina *maxima, *A. Gray.*
Malachium aquaticum, *Fries.*
Arenaria serpyllifolia, *L.*
Cerastium viscosum, *L.*
*Fischerianum, *Seringe.*

LINEÆ.

Linum, 2 spp.

MALVACEÆ.

Malva Mauritiana, *L.* ?
ruderalis, *Blume.*
Urena morifolia, *D. C.*?
Althæa, sp.
Hibiscus Hamabo, *S. & Z.*
mutabilis, *L.*?
syriacus, *L.*
Gossypium herbaceum, *Thbg.*

STERCULIACEÆ.

Sterculia japonica.

ELÆOCAPEÆ.

Elæocarpus photiniæfolius, *Hook.*
japonicus, *S. & Z.*

TILIACEÆ.

Tilia, 2 spp.
Corchoropsis crenata, *S. & Z.*

BYTTNERIACEÆ.

Pentapetes phœnicea, *Thbg.*

TERNSTRŒMIACEÆ.

Ternstrœmia japonica, *Thbg.*
microcarpa, *Turcz.*
dasyanthera, *Turcz.*
Eurya *japonica, *Thbg.*
chinensis, *Br.*
littoralis, *Sieb.*
microphylla, *Sieb.*
uniflora, *Sieb.*
hortensis, *Sieb.*
montana, *Sieb.*
Cleyera japonica, *Thbg.*
Mertensiana, *S. & Z.*
Stuartia monadelpha, *S. & Z.*
Camellia japonica, *L.*
Sasanqua, *Thbg.*
Thea chinensis, *L.*
Actinidia callosa, *Lindl.*
(*Kalomikta, Rupr.*
Trochostigma arguta, S. & Z
rufa, S. & Z.)

Actinidia polygama.
(*Trochostigma polygama, S. & Z.*)
volubilis.
(*Trochistigma volubilis, S. & Z.*)
Stachyurus præcox, *S. & Z.*

AURANTIACEÆ.

Aegle sepiaria, *L.*
(*Citrus trifolia, Thbg.*)
Citrus japonicus, *Thbg.*
aurantium, *L.*
Decumana, *L.*

OLACINEÆ.

Schoepfia Jasminodora, *S. & Z.*

HYPERICINEÆ.

Hypericum patulum, *Thbg.*
(*Norysca patula, Bl.*)
*salicifolium, *S. & Z.*
(*Norysca salicifolia, Bl.*)
erectum, *Thbg.*
chinense ? *L.*
japonicum, *Thbg.*
(*Brathys japonica, Bl.*)
*monogynum, *L.*
Brathys laxa, *Bl.*
Roscyna japonica. *Bl.*
Elodea japonica, *Bl.*
crassifolia, *Bl.*

ACERINEÆ.

Acer distylum, *S. & Z.*
palmatum, *Thunb.*
carpinifolium, *S. & Z.*
cratægifolium, *S. & Z.*
rufinerve, *S. & Z.*
micranthum, *S. & Z.*
*japonicum, *Thbg.*
*pictum, *Thbg.*
trifidum, *Thbg.*
polymorphum, *S. & Z.*
sessilifolium, *S. & Z.*
2 spp., undescribed.
dissectum, *Thunb.*
Negundo cissifolium, *S. & Z.*

CORIARIEÆ.

Coriaria japonica, *A. Gray.*

SAPINDACEÆ.

Sapindus Mukorossi, *Gærtn.*

Koelreuteria paniculata, *Laxm.*
Æsculus chinensis, *Bunge.*
*turbinata, *Blume.*
dissimilis, *A. Gray.*

MELIOSMEÆ.

Meliosma rigida, *S. & Z.*
myriantha, *S. & Z.*

MELIACEÆ.

Melia Azederach, *L.*
Toosendan, *S. & Z.*
japonica, *Don.*
Piptosacca hypophyllantha, *Turcz.*

AMPELIDEÆ.

Cissus Thunbergii, *S. & Z.*
viticifolia, *S. & Z.*
japonica, *Bl.*
Ampelopsis tricuspidata, *S. & Z.*
heterophylla, *S. & Z.*
2 vars.
japonica, *S. & Z.*
Vitis vinifera, *L.*
flexuosa, *Thbg.*
japonica, *S. & Z.*
Thunbergii, *S. & Z.*
(*ficifolia, Bunge.*)

GERANIACEÆ.

Geranium Thunbergii, *S. & Z.*
*erianthum, *Fisch.*

OXALIDEÆ.

Oxalis *corniculata, *L.*

BALSAMINEÆ.

Impatiens Balsamina, *Thbg.* sp.
*noli-tangere, *L.*

ZYGOPHYLLEÆ.

Zygophyllum, sp., *S. & Z.*

RUTACEÆ.

Bœnninghausenia albiflora, *Steud.*
Ruta, sp.

DIOSMEÆ.

Dictamnus, *vix a D. Fraxinella diversus.*

ZANTHOXYLEÆ.

Zanthoxylum piperitum, *D. C.*
schinifolium, *S. & Z.*
ailanthoides, *S. & Z.*
planispinum, *S. & Z.*

Zanthoxylum serrulatum, *Bl.*?
Boymia rutæcarpa, *A. Juss.*
Skimmia japonica, *Thbg.*
Evodia ramiflora, *A. Gray.*

SIMARUBACEÆ.

Picrasma japonica, *A. Gray.*

CELASTRINEÆ.

Elæodendron, sp.
Celastrus articulatus, *Thbg.*
punctata, *Thbg.*
Orixa, *S. & Z.*
striatus, *Thbg.*
Euonymus japonicus, *Thbg.*
Sieboldianus, *Blume.*
Thunbergianus, *Bl.*
(*Celastrus alatus, Thbg.* *Melanocarya alata, Turcz.*)
subtriflorus, *Blume.*
*Hamiltonianus, *Wall.*
latifolius, *Mill.*?
Euscaphis staphyleoides, *S. & Z.*
simplicifolia, *S. & Z.*
Staphylea *Bumalda, *S. & Z.*

AQUIFOLIACEÆ.

Ilex crenata, *Thbg.*
macrophylla, *Bl.*
integra, *Thbg.*
latifolia, *Thbg.*
rotunda, *Thbg.*
serrata, *Thbg.*
aquifolium, *L.*
var. heterophylla.

RHAMNEÆ.

Rhamnus globosus, *Bunge.*
crenatus, *S. & Z.*
catharticus, *L.*
Hovenia dulcis, *Thbg.*
Berchemia racemosa, *S. & Z.*
Zizyphus sinensis, *Lam.*
nitida, *Roxb.*
Paliurus Aubletia, *R. & S.*?

TEREBINTHACEÆ.

Rhus semialata, *Murr.*
javanica, *L.* (*cult.*)
succedanea, *L.*
sylvestris, *S. & Z.*
vernicifera, *D. C.*
Toxicodendron, *L. var.*

JUGLANDACEÆ.

Platycarya strobilacea, *S. & Z.* (*Fortunea chinensis, Lindl.*)
Pterocarya sorbifolia, *S. & Z.*
rhoifolia, *S. & Z.*
Juglans, 3 spp.

LEGUMINOSÆ.

Thermopsis fabacea, *D. C.*
Crotalaria eriantha, *S. & Z.*
Lotus corniculatus, *L.*
Medicago lupulina, *L.*
Indigofera decora, *Lindl.*
Caragana Chamlagu, *Lam.*
Astragalus lotoides, *Lam.*
Lathyrus palustris, *L.*
maritimus, *Big.*
Pisum sativum, *L.*
Orobus lathyroides, *L.*
Hedysarum coronarium, *L.* (*cult.*)
Vicia Faba, *L.*
japonica, *A. Gray.*
sativa, *L.*
tetrasperma, *L.*
sp.
Desmodium racemosum, *D. C.*
reticulatum, *Champ.*?
Lespedeza cuneata, *G. Don.*
striata, *Hook. & Arn.*
virgata, *D. C.*
argyræa, *S. & Z.*
bicolor, *Turcz.*
pilosa, *S. & Z.*
Pachyrrhizus Thunbergianus, *S. & Z.*
Dumasia truncata, *S. & Z.*
Soja hispida, *Moench.*
Glycine Soja, *S. & Z.*
Canavalia incurva, *D. C.*
Phaseolus Mungo, *L.*
farinosus, *L.*
Lablab vulgaris, *Sav.*
cultratus, *D. C.*
Rhynchosia volubilis, *D. C.*
Wistaria sinensis, *D. C.*
brachybotrys, *S. & Z.*
(Milettia) japonica, *S. & Z.*
Sophora japonica, *L.*
angustifolia, *S. & Z.*
Cæsalpinia japonica, *S. & Z.*
sepiaria, *Roxb.*

Albizzia Julibrissin, *Benth.*
Acacia Nemu, *Willd.*
sp.

ROSACEÆ.

Ceraseidos apetala, *S. & Z.*
Prunus *persica, *L.*
Padus, *L.*
paniculata, *Thunb.*
Mume, *S. & Z.*
japonica, *Thbg.*
tomentosa, *Thbg.*
Prunus spinulosa, *S. & Z.*
macrophylla, *S. & Z.*
*Pseudo-Cerasus, *Lindl.*
Spiræa callosa, *Thbg.*
chamaedrys, *Thbg.*
(*S. Revesii.*)
*Thunbergii, *S. & Z.*
*prunifolia, *S. & Z.*
chamædryfolia, *L.*
japonica, *Sieb.*
betulæfolia, *Pall.*
*palmata, *Thbg.*
Aruncus, *L.*
salicifolia ? *L.*
Stephanandra flexuosa, *S. & Z.*
Rhodotypos kerrioides, *S. & Z.*
Kerria japonica, *D.C.*
Sieversia dryadoides, *S. & Z.*
Agrimonia viscidula, *Bunge.*
Eupatoria, *L.*
Fragaria chilensis, *Ehbrg.*
indica, *L.*
Geum *strictum, *Ait.*
Potentilla *japonica, *Bl.*
*anserina, *L.*
fragiformis.
var. japonica.
fragarioides, *L.*
*reptans, *L.*
var. trifoliata.
gelida, *Mey.*
Comarum *palustre, *L.*
Rubus parvifolius, *L.*
(*triphyllus, Thbg.*)
Thunbergii, *Bl.*
palmatus, *Thbg.*
corchorifolius, *Lin. fil.*
(*villosus, Thbg.*)
microphyllus, *L. fil.*
Rubus pubinervis, *Bl.*
Sieboldii, *Bl.*
ribifolius, *S. & Z.*
(*incisus, Thbg.*)
hydrastifolius, *A. Gray.*
coptophyllus, *A. Gray.*
Chamæmorus, *L.*
*Wrightii, *A. Gray.*
Rosa sempervirens, *L.*
*multiflora, *Thbg.*
var. platyphylla, *Radd.*
Banksiæ, *R. Br.*
Hystrix, *Lindl.*
microphylla, *Roxb.*
*rugosa, *Thbg.*
polyantha, *S. & Z.*
canina, *Thbg.*
gallica, *Thbg.*
Raphiolepis japonica, *S. & Z.*
Mertensii, *S. & Z.*
Stranvaisia digyna, *S. & Z.*
Photinia serrulata, *Lindl.*
Cratægus cuneata, *S. & Z.*
alnifolia, *S. & Z.*
Eriobotrya japonica, *Lindl.*
Aronia asiatica, *S. & Z.*
Osteomeles anthyllidifolia, *Lindl.*
Pyrus * Malus, *L.* (*culta*).
*spectabilis, *Ait.*
communis, *L.*
(Sorbus) gracilis, *S. & Z.*
rivularis ? *Gray.*
Cydonia sinensis, *Thouns.*
*japonica, *Pers.*
vulgaris, *Pers.*
Sanguisorba tenuifolia, *Fisch.*

CALYCANTHACEÆ.

Chimonanthus fragrans, *Lindl.*

COMBRETACEÆ.

Quisqualis sinensis, *Lindl.*

ONAGRACEÆ.

Epilobium, sp. 2, *S. & Z.*
Circæa mollis, *S. & Z.*
alpina, *L.*

HALORAGEÆ.

Ceratophyllum demersum, *Thbg.*
Myriophyllum, sp.
Haloragis micrantha, *R. Br.*
Trapa bispinosa, *Roxb.*

Trapa incisa, *S. & Z.*
Callitriche verna, *Thbg.*

SALICARIEÆ.

Ammannia, 2 sp.
Lythrum salicaria, *L.*
Lagerstrœmia indica, *L. (cult.)*

TAMARISCINEÆ.

Tamarix chinensis, *Lour.*
(*gallica, Thbg.*)

MELASTOMACEÆ.

Melastoma Nobotan, *Blume.*
Osbeckia chinensis, *L.*
and 3 other sp.
Bredia hirsuta, *Blume.*

PHILADELPHEÆ. Don.

Philadelphus coronarius, *L.*
Deutzia crenata, *S. & Z.*
gracilis, *S. & Z.*
scabra, *S. & Z.*

MYRTACEÆ.

Punica granatum, *L.*
Rhodomyrtus tomentosa, *D. & C.*
Metrosideros, sp., *S. & Z.*

CUCURBITACEÆ.

Bryonia japonica, *L.*
Momordica charantia, *L.*
Luffa fœtida, *Cav.*
Lagenaria vulgaris, *Ser.*
hispida, *Ser.*
Cucumis Melo, *L.*
sativus, *L.*
Conomon, *Thbg.*
flexuosa, *L.*
Colocynthis, *L.*
Cucurbita Pepo, *L.*
Cucurbita Citrullus, *L.*
Trichosanthes anguina, *L.*
cucumerina, *L.*
Sicyos angulata, *L.*

PASSIFLOREÆ.

Passiflora cærulea, *L. (cult).*

PORTULACEÆ.

Portulacca oleracea, *L.*
Tetragonia expansa, *Ait.*

BEGONIACEÆ.

Begonia grandis, *Dryand.*

CRASSULACEÆ.

Sedum Sieboldii, *Sweet.*
kamtschaticum? *Fisch.*
lineare, *Thbg.*
japonicum, *Sieb.*
hybridum, *Z.*

CACTEÆ.

Opuntia, sp. (*Cactus Ficus, Thbg.*)

GROSSULACEÆ.

Ribes fasciculatum, *S. & Z.*
laxiflorum, *Pursh.*
Cynosbati, *Thbg.*

SAXIFRAGEÆ.

Saxifraga sarmentosa, *L.*
Saxifraga cortusæfolia, *S. & Z.*
Mitellopsis japonica, *S. & Z.*
Hoteia japonica, *Morr.*
Thunbergii, *A. Gray.*
Hydrangea Hortensia, *D. C.*
acuminata, *S. & Z.*
Azisai, *Sieb.*
Belzonii, *S. & Z.*
bracteata, *S. & Z.*
*cordifolia, *S. & Z.*
hirta, *S. & Z.*
involucrata, *S. & Z.*
japonica, *S. & Z.*
Otaksa, *S. & Z.*
*paniculata. *S. & Z.*
petiolaris, *S. & Z.*
stellata, *S. & Z.*
Thunbergii, *Sieb.*
virens, *Sieb.*
Cardiandra alternifolia, *S. & Z.*
Schizophragma hydrangeoides, *S. & Z.*
Platycrater arguta, *S. & Z.*
Rodgersia *podophylla, *A. Gray.*
Chrysosplenium Kamtschaticum, *Cham.*
*ovalifolium, *M. Bieb.*

DROSERACEÆ.

Drosera, 2 spp.
rotundifolia, *L.*
Parnassia mucronata, *S. & Z.*

UMBELLIFERÆ.

Hydrocotyle *interrupta, *Mühl.*
Sanicula elata, *Hamilt.*
(*europea, L. var.*)

Cryptotænia *canadensis, *D. C.*
Apium graveolens, *L.*
Fœniculum vulgare, *Gærtn.*
Ligusticum *scoticum, *L.*
acutilobum, *S. & Z.*
Peucedanum japonicum, *Thbg.*
Torilis japonica, *D. C.*
Osmorrhiza japonica, *S. & Z.*
*longistylis, *D. C.*
Heracleum lanatum, *Michx.*
Archangelica officinalis, *Hoffm.* ?
Bupleurum *multinerve, *D. C.*
Angelica japonica, *A. Gray.*
Anthriscus sylvestris, *Hoffm.*
Cœlopleurum Gmelini *Led.*
Cymopteris littoralis, (*A. Gray.*)
glaber, (*A. Gray.*)

ARALIACEÆ.

Panax innovans, *S. & Z.*
ricinifolium, *S. & Z.*
divaricatum, *S. & Z.*
Echinopanax horridus, *Pl. & Dcne.*
Aralia japonica, *Thbg.*
nudicaulis *L.* (*Blume.*)
pentaphylla, *Thbg.*
*edulis, *S. & Z.*
canescens, *S. & Z.*
quinquefolia, *L.*
Hedera Helix, *L.*, *Thbg.*
rhombea, *S. & Z.*
Trochodendron aralioides, *S. & Z.*

LORANTHACEÆ.

Viscum japonicum, *Thbg.*
Kæmpferi, *D. C.*
Loranthus Jodoniki, *Sieb.*

COMPOSITÆ.

Adenostemma viscosum, *Forst.*
Adenocaulon *himalaicum? *Edgw.*
Nardosmia japonica, *S. & Z.*
Eupatorium chinense, *L. Thbg.*
Finlaysonianum, *Wall.*
japonicum, *Thbg.*
*cannabinum, *L.*
Revesii, *Wall.*
*sp. n.?
Erigeron Thunbergii, *A. Gray.*
(*aster japonicus, Thbg.*)
Aster tartaricus, *L.*
*discolor, *Max.* ?
Aster Kæmpferi, *A. Gray.*
trinervius, *Roxb.*
Tripolium vulgare, *Rees.*
Calimeris amplexifolia, *S. & Z.*
Döllingeria scabra, *Nees.*
Callistephus sinensis, *Cass.*
Heteropappus incisus, *S. & Z.*
subserrātus, *S. & Z.*
rigens, *S. & Z.*
(*hispidus, Less.*)
Conyza japonica, *Less.*
Asteromæa *indica, *Blume.*
Solidago virgaurea, *L.*
leiocarpa, *D. C.*
Inula Helenium, *L.*
squarrosa, *L.* ?
salicina, *L.* ?
japonica, *Thbg.*
Eclipta prostrata, *L.*
Siegesbeckia orientalis, *L.*
Xanthium Strumarium, *L.*
Helianthus annuus, *L. var.*
Porophyllum japonicum, *D. C.*
Tagetes patula, *L.*
Bidens chinensis, *Willd.*
Ptarmica sibirica, *Led.*
Mongholica, *D. C.*
Pyrethrum sinense, *Sabine.*
Chrysanthemum *coronarium, *L.*
Artemisia borealis, Pall.
capillaris, *Thbg.*
japonica, *Thbg.*
vulgaris, *L.*
indica, *Willd.*
annua, *L.*
2 spp.
Matricaria *inodora ? *D. C.*
Myriogyne minuta, *Less.*
Gnaphalium confusum, *D. C.*
japonicum, *Thbg.*
polycephalum, *Mx.*
multiceps, *Wall.*
Antennaria *margaritacea, *D. C.*
Carpesium divaricatum, *S. & Z.*
Thunbergianum, *S. & Z.*
Ligularia *japonica, *Less.*
gigantea, *S & Z.*
Kämpferii, *S. & Z.*
Erythrochæte palmatifida, *S. & Z.*
dentata, *A. Gray.*

Cacalia delphiniifolia, *S. & Z.*
farfaræfolia, *S. & Z.*
hastata, *Linn.*
Senecio subensiformis, *D. C.*
palmatus, *Pall.*
Pseudo-Arnica, *Less.*
japonicus, *Thbg.*
Calendula officinalis, *L.*
Saussurea japonica, *D. C.*
Aplotaxis multicaulis, *D. C.*
Carthamus tinctorius, *L.*
Spanioptilon lineare, *Less.*
Cirsium japonicum, *D. C.*
kamtschaticum, *Led. var.*
pectinellum, *A. Gray.*
brevicaule, *A. Gray.*
Lappa major, *Gærtn.*
Atractylodes lyrata, *S. & Z.*
Anandria *bellidiastrum, *D. C.*
Cichorium Intybus, *L.*
Picris japonica, *Thbg.*
hieracioides, *L.*
Youngia Thunbergiana, *D. C.*
Hieracium umbellatum, *L.*
Taraxacum Dens-Leonis, *Desf.*
Ixeris (Chorisis) *repens, *A. Gray.*
*stolonifera, *A. Gray.*
*debilis, *A. Gray.*
ramosissima, *A. Gray.*
*Thunbergii, *A. Gray.*
albiflora, *A. Gray.*
linguæfolia, *A. Gray.*
Lampsana *parviflora, *A. Gray.*
Sonchus oleraceus, *Thbg.*

BALSAMIFLUÆ.

Liquidambar, sp.

HAMAMELIDEÆ.

Hamamelis japonica, *S. & Z.*
Corylopsis spicata, *S. & Z.*
pauciflora, *S. & Z.*
Distylium racemosum, *S. & Z.*

CORNEÆ.

Benthamia japonica, *S. & Z.*
Cornus officinalis, *S. & Z.*
sanguinea, *Thbg.* (*non. L.*)
alba, *Thbg.*
*suecica, *L.*
canadensis, *L.*
Aucuba japonica, *Thbg.*
Quadriala lanceolata, *S. & Z.*

ALANGIEÆ.

Marlea platanifolia, *S. & Z.*
macrophylla, *S. & Z.*

CAPRIFOLIACEÆ.

Linnæa *borealis, Gronov.*
Abelia serrata, *S. & Z.*
spathulata, *S. & Z.*
Diervilla hortensis, *S. & Z.*
grandiflora, *S. & Z.*
versicolor, *S. & Z.*
floribunda, *S. & Z.*
Lonicera japonica, *Thbg.*
affinis, *Hook.*
brachypoda, *D. C.*
xylosteum, *var.*
*Morrowii, *A. Gr.*
Viburnum *plicatum, *Thbg.*
tomentosum, *Thbg.*
cordifolium, *Wall.*
cuspidatum, *Thbg.*
*erosum, *Thbg.*
*dilatatum, *Thbg.*
urceolatum, *S. & Z.*
awafouki, *Sieb.*
phlebotrichum, *S. & Z.*
odoratissimum, *D. C.*
opulus, *L.*
Sambucus, sp. *S. & Z.*
ebuloides, *Desv.*
japonica, *Thbg.*
*pubens, *Michx.*

VALERIANACEÆ.

Patrinia villosa, *Sieb.*
*parviflora, *S. & Z.*
Valeriana dioica, *L.*

DIPSACEÆ.

Scabiosa maritima, *Thbg.*

LOBELIACEÆ.

Isolobus campanuloides, *D. C.*
radicans, *A. D. C.*

CAMPANULACEÆ.

Campanumæa *lanceolata, *S. & Z.*
Platycodon *grandiflorum, *D. C.*
Adenophora *verticillata, *Fisch.*
sp.
Wahlenbergia marginata, *D. C.*

Campanula Trachelium, *L.*
remotiflora, *S. & Z.*
punctata, *Lam.*

RUBIACEÆ.

Asperula *odorata, *L.*
Galium strigosum, *Thbg.*
aparine, *L.*
trachyspermum, *A. Gray.*
*verum, *L.*
var. lasiocarpum.
triflorum, *Mx.*
Rubia Munjista, *Roxb.*
peregrina ? *L.*
Serissa fœtida, *Comm.*
Pœderia *fœtida, *L.*
Mitchella undulata, *S. & Z.*
Damnacanthus indicus, *Gærtn.*
major, *S. & Z.*
Hedyotis cordata, *Zucc.*
Ophiorrhiza japonica, *Blume.*
Nauclea racemosa, *S. & Z.*
Gardenia florida, *L.*
maruba, *Sieb.*
grandiflora, *Lour.*
radicans, *Thbg.*
Oldenlandia paniculata, *L.*

VACCINEÆ.

Vaccinium bracteatum, *Thbg.*
Smallii, *A. Gr.*
Wrightii, *A. Gr.*
Vitis-Idæa, *L.*
macrocarpum, *Ait.*
sp. nov.?

ERICACEÆ.

Clethra barbinervis, *S. & Z.*
Gaultheria triquetra, *S. & Z.*
Pieris japonica, *S. & Z.*
elliptica, *S. & Z.*
Leucothoe chlorantha, *A. Gr.*
Tripetaleia paniculata, *S. & Z.* (*near* Elliottia).
Rhododendron Metternichii, *S. & Z.*
ledifolium, *D. C.*
linearifolium, *S. & Z.*
brachycarpum, *Don.*
Azalea mollis, *Bl.*
indica, *L.*
Azalea rosmarinifolia, *Burm.*
serpyllifolia, *A. Gr.*
Japonica, *A. Gr.*
Ledum palustre, *L.*
Menziesia ferruginea, *Sm.*
Meisteria cernua, *S. & Z.* (*Tritomodon japonicum, Turcz.*)
Meisteria, sp. n.?
Enkianthus, sp.?
Hymenanthes japonica, *Bl.*

PYROLACEÆ.

Pyrola media, *Sm.*
minor, *L.*
rotundifolia, *L.*
Moneses grandiflora, *Salisb.*

DIAPENSIACEÆ.

Diapensia lapponica, *L.*

STYRACEÆ.

Styrax japonicum, *S. & Z.*
obassia, *S. & Z.*
Pterostyrax corymbosum, *S. & Z.*
micranthum, *S. & Z.*
hispidum, *S. & Z.*
Symplocos japonica, *D. C.*
prunifolia, *S. & Z.*
myrtacea, *S. & Z.*
lancifolia, *S. & Z.*
leptostachys, *S. & Z.*
theophrastæfolia, *S. & Z.*
neriifolia, *S. & Z.*

EBENACEÆ.

Diospyros Kaki, *L.*
japonica, *S. & Z.*

SAPOTACEÆ.

Achras Sapota, *L.*
Sideroxylon, sp.

MYRSINEÆ.

Myrsine neriifolia, *S. & Z.*
Ardisia crispa, *A. DC.*
glabra, *A. DC.*
japonica, *Bl.*
pusilla, *A. DC.*
Mæsa Doræna, *Bl.* (*Doræna japonica, Thbg.*)

PRIMULACEÆ.

Primula cortusioides, *L.*
*japonica, *A. Gray.*
Androsace patens, *C. W.*
Lysimachia japonica, *Thbg.*
*clethroides, *Duby.*
lubinioides, *S. & Z.*
linearifloba, *Hook.*
*vulgaris, *L.*?
Anagallis arvensis, *L.*
(*a*) floribus phœniceis, *Thbg.*
(*b*) „ cæruleis, *Sieb.*
Naumburgia *thyrsiflora, *Moench.*

JASMINEÆ.

Jasminium grandiflorum, *L.*
Sambac, *Ait.*
nudiflorum, *Lindl.*
Sieboldianum, *Bl.*
floridum, *Bunge.*

OLEACEÆ.

Olea aquifolium, *S. & Z.*
japonica, *Sieb.*
fragrans, *Thbg.*
Osmanthus fragrans, *Lour.*
Ligustrum Ibota, *Sieb.*
ciliatum, *Bl.*
reticulatum, *Bl.*
ovalifolium, *Hassk.*
obtusifolium, *S. & Z.*
japonicum, *Thbg.*
micranthum, *Zucc.*
Fraxinus longicuspis, *S. & Z.*
Sieboldiana, *Blum.*
pubinervis, *Bl.*
obovata, *Bl.* (*Cult.*)
Forsythia suspensa, *Vahl.*

LOGANIACEÆ.

Gardneria nutans, *S. & Z.*

GENTIANEÆ.

Gentiana Thunbergii, *Griseb.*
squarrosa, *Led.*
Pleurogyne rotata, *Griseb.*
Ophelia bimaculata, *S. & Z.*
Crawfurdia japonica, *S. & Z.*
Limnanthemum peltatum, *Griseb.*
Menyanthes *trifoliata, *L.*

APOCYNEÆ.

Vinca rosea, *L.*
Nerium odorum, *Soland.*
Rhynchospermum jasminoides, *Ldl.*
(*Malouetia asiatica, S. & Z.*
Parechites Thunbergii, A. Gray.)
Amsonia elliptica, *R. & S.*

ASCLEPIADACEÆ.

Metaplaxis *chinensis, *R. Br.*
Stauntoni, *R. & S.*
Vincetoxicum purpurascens, *Morr. & Dcne.*
macrophyllum, *S. & Z.*
amplexicaule, *S. & Z.*
japonicum, *Morr. & Dcne.*
acuminatum, *D. C.*
atratum, *Bunge.*
micranthum, *S. & Z.*
Pycnostelma chinense, *Bunge.*
Marsdenia tomentosa, *Morr. & Dcne.*

BORAGINEÆ.

Lithospermum erythrorhizon, *S. & Z.*
officinale, *L.*
japonicum, *A. Gray.*
Omphalodes, sp.
Mertensia maritima, *Roth.*
Bothriospermum asperugoides, *S. & Z.*
Cynoglossum japonicum, *Thbg.*
Myosotis arvensis, *L.*
chinensis, *D. C.*
Eritrichium Gulielmi, *A. Gray.*
pedunculare, *D. C.*
Heliotropium japonicum, *A. Gray.*

CORDIACEÆ.

Cordia thyrsiflora, *S. & Z.*

LABIATÆ.

Plectranthus, *2 spp.
Plectranthus amethystoides, *Benth.*
brachiatus, *Benth.*
Perilla arguta, *Benth.*
Salvia japonica, *Thbg.*
plebeia, *R. Ba.*
Melissa Clinopodium, *Bth.*
Prunella vulgaris, *L.*

Cedronella japonica, *Hassk.*
Scutellaria indica, *L.*
scordifolia, *Fisch.*
japonica, *Morr. & Dcne.*
hederacea, *Kth.*
Nepeta Glechoma, *Benth.*
var. hirsuta, *S. & Z.*
var. grandis, *A. Gray.*
Lophanthus rugosus ? *F. & Ney.*
Lamium amplexicaule, *L.*
barbatum, *S. & Z.*
petiolatum, *Royle.*
Ajuga remota, *Benth.*
ciliata, *Bunge.*
orientalis, *Thbg.*
decumbens, *Thbg.*
pygmæa, *A. Gray.*
Teucrium japonicum, *Thbg.*
Thymus serpyllum, *L.*
Elsholtzia, *sp.
Stachys aspera, *var.* palustris, *Mich.**
Gomphostemma, sp.
Calamintha gracilis, *Benth.*
chinensis, *Benth.*
Dracocephalum Ruyschianum.
var. japonicum, *A. Gray.*

POLEMONIACEÆ.

Schizocodon soldanelloides, *Zucc.*
Polemonium cœruleum, *L.*

CONVOLVULACEÆ.

Calystegia Soldanella, *R. Br.*
Batatas edulis, *Chois.*
Pharbitis Nil, *Chois.*
Ipomæa filicaulis, *Blume.*
Cuscuta major, *C. Bauh.*

SOLANACEÆ.

Nicotiana chinensis, *Fisch.*
Datura Stramonium, *L.*
alba, *Nees.*
Physalis alkekengi, *L.*
ciliata, *S. & Z.*
Capsicum longum, *D. C.*
annuum, *L.*
Solanum nigrum, *L.*
tuberosum, *L.*
Melongena, *L.*
Dulcamara, *L.*
Lycium chinense, *Blume.*

VERBENACEÆ.

Verbena officinalis, *L.*
Priva, sp.
Vitex *ovata, *Thbg.*
cannabifolia, *S. & Z.*
Clerodendron trichotomum, *Thbg.*
squamatum, *Vahl.*
divaricatum, *S. & Z.*
*sp.
Callicarpa japonica, *Thbg.*
gracilis, *S. & Z.*
mollis, *S. & Z.*
Murasaki, *Sieb.*
Mastacanthus sinensis, *Endl.*

MYOPORINEÆ.

Pentacœlium bontioides, *S. & Z.*

ACANTHACEÆ.

Peristrophe tinctoria, *Nees.*
Rostellularia procumbens, *Nees.*
Rhinacanthus communis, *Nees.*

BIGNONIACEÆ.

Sesamum orientale, *L.*
Catalpa Kæmpferi, *S. & Z.*
Tecoma grandiflora, *D. C.*

GESNERACEÆ.

Conandron ramondioides, *Zucc.*

SCROPHULARINEÆ.

Paullownia imperialis, *S. & Z.*
Vandellia angustifolia, *Benth.*
Gratiola, sp.
Bonnaya verbenacea, *Spr.*
Veronica anagallis, *L.*
paniculata, *L.*
*longifolia, *L.*
*sibirica, *L.*
japonica, *Stend.*
*Thunbergii, *A. Gray.*
Pæderota axillaris, *S. & Z.*
bracteata, *S. & Z.*
Siphonostegia chinensis, *Benth.*
Scrophularia *alata, *A. Gray.*
Mazus *rugosus, *Lom.*
Pedicularis *resupinata, *L.*
Gerardia japonica, *Thbg.*

OROBANCHEÆ.
Boschniackia, sp., *S. & Z.*
Æginetia japonica, *S. & Z.*
Phacellanthus tubiflorus, *S. & Z.*

UTRICULARIEÆ.
Utricularia intermedia, *Hayne.*

PLANTAGINEÆ.
Plantago *major, *L.*

PLUMBAGINEÆ. *R. Br.*
Statice Japonica, *S. & Z.*

POLYGONEÆ.
Rheum palmatum, *L.*
tartaricum, *L.*
Polygonum chinense, *L.*
japonicum, *Meisn.*
orientale, *L.*
aviculare, *L.*
barbatum, *L.*
perfoliatum, *L.*
Fagopyrum, *L.*
Thunbergii, *S. & Z.*
multiflorum, *Thbg.*
*cuspidatum, *S. & Z.*
*Sieboldii, *Meisn.*
Convolvulus, *L.*
*lapathifolium ?
Bistorta, *L.*
other 2 sp.
filiforme, *Thbg.*
Fagopyrum emarginatum, *Meisn.*
Rumex crispus, *L.? Thbg.*
var. nudivalvis, *Mein.*
persicarioides, *L.*
acetosa, *L.*

NYCTAGINEÆ.
Mirabilis Jalapa, *L., Thbg.*

AMARANTHACEÆ, *R. Br.*
Gomphrena globosa, *L., Thbg.*
Celosia margaritacea, *L.*
cristata, *L.*
Achyranthes *aspera, *Linn.*
Amaranthus Blitum, *L.*

CHENOPODEÆ.
Chenopodina maritima, *Moq.*
Spinacia oleracea, *L.*
Beta vulgaris, *L.*
Kochia scoparia, *Schrad.*
Chenopodium album, *L.*
ambrosioides, *L.*
virgatum, *Thbg.*
Schœberia maritima, *C. A. M.*
Salsola Soda, *Sieb.*
Basella rubra, *L.*

PHYTOLACCEÆ.
Phytolacca octandra, *L.*
Kæmpferi, *A. Gray.*

LAURINEÆ.
Cinnamomum dulce, *Nees.*
Loureirii, *Nees.*
pedunculatum, *Nees.*
daphnoides, *S. & Z.*
Camphora officinarum, *Bank.*
Machilus Thunbergii, *S. & Z.*
Japonica, *S. & Z.*
longifolia, *Blume.*
Benzoin trilobum, *S. & Z.*
Thunbergii, *S. & Z.*
*sericeum, *S. & Z.*
præcox, *S. & Z.*
glaucum, *S. & Z.*
Aperula citriodora, *Blume.*
(*Benzoin citriodorum, S. & Z.*)
Lindera obtusiloba, *Bl.*
Tetranthera japonica, *Spreng.*
Actinodaphne, 2 spp.
Daphnidium Myrrha, *Nees.*
strychnifolium, *S. & Z.*
lancifolium, *S. & Z.*
(*Iozoste lancifolia, Bl.*)
Iozoste acuminata, *Bl.*
Litsæa glauca, *Sieb.*
foliosa, *S. & Z., non Nees.*
aciculata, *Bl.*

SANTALACEÆ.
Thesium, sp., *S. & Z.*
alpinum, *L.*
decurrens, *Bl.*

HELWINGIACEÆ.
Helwingia japonica, *Morr. & Dcne.*

ELÆAGNEÆ.
Elæagnus macrophylla, *Thbg.*
umbellata, *Thbg.*
pungens, *Thbg.*

Elæagnus longipes, *A. Gray.*
reflexa, *Morr. & Dcne.*
glabra, *Thbg.*
crispa, *Thbg.*
multiflora, *Thbg.*

THYMELEÆ.

Daphne odora, *Thbg.*
japonica, *Hort. Lugd.*
Genkwa, *S. & Z.*
Pseudo-Mezereum, *A. Gray.*
Edgeworthia papyrifera, *S. & Z.*
Passerina (Wickstroemia) japonica, *S. & Z.*
Ganpi, *S. & Z.*

SAURUREÆ.

Houttuynia cordata, *Thbg.*
Saururus Loureirii, *Dcne.*

EMPETREÆ.

Empetrum nigrum, *L.*

PROTEACEÆ.

Helicia lancifolia, *S. & Z.*

ARISTOLOCHIEÆ.

Asarum canadense, *Thbg.*
Heterotropa asaroides, *Morr. & Dcne.*
Aristolochia Kæmpferi, *Willd.*
debilis, *S. & Z.*
longa, *Thb.*

CHLORANTHACEÆ.

Chloranthus *serratus, *Kæmpf.*
inconspicuus, *Bl.*
Sarcandra chloranthoides, *Gærtn.*
Tricercandra *quadrifolia, *A. Gray.*

PIPERACEÆ.

Piper futokadsura, *Sieb.*

EUPHORBIACEÆ.

Pachysandra *terminalis, *S. & Z.*
Buxus microphylla, *S. & Z.*
Glochidion obovatum, *S. & Z.*
Cicca? flexuosa, *S. & Z.*
Phyllanthus lepidocarpus, *S. & Z.*
Croton Siraki, *S. & Z.*
Röttlera japonica, *Spreng.*
Ricinus communis, *L.*
Elæococca verrucosa, *Juss.*
cordata, *Juss.*
Mercurialis leiocarpa, *S. & Z.*
Acalypha, sp.
Hemicicca japonica, *Baill.*
Goughia nilgherrensis, *Wight.*
Stillingia sebifera, *Mich.*
japonica, *S. & Z.*
Euphorbia (10 spp., *S. & Z.*)
*Gulielmii, *A. Gray.*
palustris.
Helioscopia, *L.*
Sieboldiana, *Morr. & Dcne.*
adenochlora, *Morr. & Dcne.*

CUPULIFERÆ.

Castanea vesca, *Gærtn., var.*
japonica, *Blume.*
crenata, *S. & Z.*
(*japonica, var. crenata, Bl.*)
stricta, *S. & Z.*
(*japonica, var. stricta, Bl.*)
chinensis, *Spr.* (*cult.*)
Fagus *sylvatica, *L.*
crenata, *Blume.*
Quercus glabra, *Thbg.*
acuta, *Thbg.*
glauca, *Thbg.*
cuspidata, *Thbg.*
serrata, *Thbg.*
*glandulifera, *Blume.*
dentata, *Thbg.*
phyllyræoides, *A. Gray.*
Sieboldiana, *Bl.*
urticæfolia, *Bl.*
canescens, *Bl.*
variabilis, *Bl.*
aliena, *Bl.*
crispula, *Bl.*
Burgerii, *Bl.*
sessilifolia, *Bl.*
salicina, *Bl.*
myrsinæfolia, *Bl.*
gilva, *Bl.*
grosseserrata, *Bl.*
lacera, *Bl.*
marginata, *Bl.*
lævigata, *Bl.*
Corylus heterophylla, *Fisch.*
Sieboldiana, *Bl.*
Distegocarpus carpinius, *S. & Z.*
(*Carpinus japonica, Bl.*)
laxiflora, *S. & Z.*
(*Carpinus, Bl.*)

Carpinus erosa, *Bl.*
cordata, *Bl.*

ANTIDESMEÆ.

Antidesma japonicum, *S. & Z.*

SALICINEÆ.

Salix *japonica, *Thbg.*
alba, *L.*
subfragilis, *Anders.*
purpurea, *L.*
padifolia, *L.*
viridula, *Anders.*
vulpina, *Anders.*
acutifolia, *W.*
Sieboldiana, *Blume.*
integra, *Thbg.*
Babylonica, *L.*
Populus, sp.

CELTIDEÆ, *Endl.*

Celtis Willdenowiana, *Roem.*
sinensis, *Pers.*
Muku, *Sieb.*
Sponia nudiflora, *S. & Z.*
Homoioceltis aspera, *Bl.*

CANNABINEÆ.

Cannabis sativa, *L.*
Humulus Lupulus, *L.*
japonicus, *S. & Z.*

URTICACEÆ.

Urtica Thunbergiana, *S. & Z.*
angustifolia, *Fisch., var.*
foliosa, *Bl.*
Laportea bulbifera, *S. & Z.*
terminalis, *Wedd.*
Boehmeria nivea, *Gaud.*
biloba, *Wedd.*
(*Splitgerbera japonica, Miq.*)
macrophylla, *S. & Z.*
(*longispica, Steud.*)
spicata, *Thbg.*
Sieboldiana, *Bl.*
holosericea, *Bl.*
Pilea petiolaris, *Bl.*
(*Urtica, S. & Z.*)
Procris umbellata, *S. & Z.*
radicans, *S. & Z.*
Morocarpus edulis, *S. & Z.*
Nanocnida japonica, *Bl.*
Villebrunea frutescens, *Bl.*

MOREÆ.

Morus alba, *L., Thbg.*
indica, *L., Thbg.*
japonica, *Sieb.*
Fatoua aspera, *Gaud.*
pilosa, *Gaud.*
Maclura gerontogæa, *S. & Z.*
Broussonetia papyrifera, *Vent.*
Kæmpferi, *Sieb.*
Sieboldii, *Bl.*
(*Kazinoki, Sieb.*)
Ficus stipulata, *Thbg.*
pumila, *Thbg.*
erecta, *Thbg.*
japonica, *Blume.*
pyrifolia, *Burm.*
hirta, *Vahl.*
carica, *L., Thbg.*
*sp.

ULMACEÆ.

Euptelea polyandra, *S. & Z.*
Ulmus parvifolia, *Jacq.*

BETULACEÆ.

Betula grossa, *S. & Z.*
carpinifolia, *S. & Z.*
ulmifolia, *S. & Z.*
japonica, *Sieb.*
Alnus firma, *S. & Z.*
japonica, *S. & Z.*
viridis, *D. C.*

MYRICEÆ.

Myrica rubra, *S. & Z.*

CONIFERÆ.

Glyptostrobus pendulus, *Endl.?*
Taxus cuspidata, *S. & Z.*
adpressa, *Knight.*
Torreya nucifera, *S. & Z.*
Cephalotaxus umbraculifera, *Sieb.*
drupacea, *S. & Z.*
pedunculata, *S. & Z.*
Fortunei, *Hook.*
Podocarpus macrophylla, *Wall.*
Maki, *S. & Z.*
(*chinensis, Wall.*)
Koraiana, *Sieb.*
nageia, *R. Br.*
japonica, *Sieb.*

Podocarpus cuspidata, *Endl.*
grandifolia, *Endl.* ?
Salisburia adiantifolia, *S. & Z.*
Juniperus rigida, *S. & Z.*
taxifolia, *Hook.*
chinensis, *L.*
procumbens, *Sieb.*
Thuja orientalis, *L.*
excelsa, *Bong.*
pendula, *Lamb.*
Thujopsis dolabrata, *S. & Z.*
Retinispora obtusa, *S. & Z.*
ericoides, *Zucc.*
pisifera, *S. & Z.*
squarrosa, *S. & Z.*
Cryptomeria japonica, *Don.*
Larix leptolepis, *Sieb.*
Abies Tsuga, *S. & Z.*
(Picea) firma, *S. & Z.*
(Picea) homolepis, *S. & Z.*
microsperma, *Lindl.*
Veitchii, *Lindl.*
Alcoquiana, *Lindl.*
bifida, *S. & Z.*
jezoensis, *S. & Z.*
Smithiana, *Loud.*
(*polita*, *S. & Z.*)
Pinus densiflora, *S. & Z.*
Massoniana, *Lamb.*
parviflora, *S. & Z.*
koraiensis, *S. & Z.*
sinensis, *Lamb.*
pinaster, *Ait.* (*cult.* ?)
Cunninghamia sinensis, *R. Br.*
Sciadopitys verticillata, *S. & Z.*

CYCADACEÆ.

Cycas revoluta, *L.*, *Thbg.*
β prolifera, *S. & Z.*

PALMEÆ.

Chamærops excelsa, *Thunb.*
Biroo, *Sieb.* ?
Rhapis flabelliformis, *Lin. fil.*
Sjurotsik, *Siob.*
aspera, *Sieb.*
Kwauwon, *Sieb.*

AROIDEÆ.

Arisæma amplissimum, *Bl.*
rigens, *Schott.*
Arisæma serratum, *Schott.*
præcox, *De Vriese.*
heterophyllum, *Bl.*
latisectum, *Bl.*
Thunbergii, *Blume.*
japonicum, *Blume.*
2 spp.
Arctiodracon japonicum, *A. Gray.*
Acorus gramineus, *Ait.*

ORCHIDEÆ.

Dendrobium catenatum, *Lindl.*
devonianum, *Lindl.* ?
japonicum, *Lindl.*
Epipactis Thunbergiana, *A. Gray.*
Cephalanthera japonica, *Gray.*
*ensifolia, *Lindl.*
Spiranthes australis, *Lindl.*
Orchis *aristata, *Fisch.*
Cymbidium ensifolium, *Sw.*
Calanthe discolor, *Lindl.*
striata, *Br.*
Cypripedium japonicum, *Thbg.*
Liparis liliifolia, *Rich.*
Pogonia ophioglossoides, *Ker.*
Arethusa *japonica, *A. Gray.*
Oreorchis *lancifolia, *A. Gray.*
Platanthera tipuloides, *Lindl.*
Cremastra *mitrata, *A. Gray.*
Hyacinthorchis *variabilis, *Bl.*
(*Epidendrum striatum*, *Thbg.*)
Luisia teres, *Bl.*
(*Epidendrum*, *Thbg.*)
Mitostigma gracile, *Bl.*
Habenaria *japonica, *A. Gray.*
Gastrodia elata, *Bl.*
Phajus maculatus, *Lindl.*
minor, *Bl.*
Lecanorchis japonica, *Bl.*

IRIDACEÆ.

Iris setosa, *Pall.*
*lævigata, *Fisch.*
orientalis, *Thbg.*
*gracilipes, *A. Gray.*
japonica, *Thbg.*
versicolor, *Thbg.*

ALSISMACEÆ.

Sagittaria sagittifolia, *L.*
obtusa, *Thg.*

NAJADEÆ.

Potamogeton natans, *L.*
Zostera marina, *L.*

HÆMODORACEÆ.

Aletris japonica, *Lamb.*

LILIACEÆ.

Paris *hexaphylla, *Cham.*
*tetraphylla, *A. Gray.*
Trillium erectum, *Lin., var.*
Asparagus lucidus, *Lindl.*
micranthus, *S. & Z.*
*Wrightii, *A. Gray.*
Polygonatum *vulgare, *Red.*
Polygonatum *giganteum, *Dietr.*
multiflorum, *All.*
falcatum, *A. Gray.*
Thunbergii, *Morr. & Dcne.*
japonicum, *Morr. & Dcne.*
Convallaria *majalis, *Linn.*
Smilacina *bifolia.
var. *kamtschatica.
Smilacina *japonica, *Gray.*
Clintonia udensis, *Trant.*
Disporum *sessile, *Don.*
*smilacinum, *A. Gray.*
fulvum, *Salis.*
Streptopus amplexifolius, *D. C.*
roseus, *Michx.*
Orithya oxypetala, *Kth.*
Lilium japonicum, *Thbg.*
maculatum, *Thbg.*
*cordifolium, *Thbg.*
bulbiferum, *L.*
speciosum, *Thbg.*
* ? medeoloides, *A. Gray.*
*sp. n. ?
callosum, *S. & L.*
Thunbergianum, *R. & S.*
Jama-juri, *Sieb.*
Coridon, *Sieb.*
Gagea triflora, *R. & S.*
Scilla orientalis, *Thbg.*
japonica, *Thgb.*
Allium Schœnoprasum, *L.*
Thunbergii, *Don.*
Victorialis, *L.*
*sp.
Funkia *ovata, *Spreng.*
Sieboldiana, *Lodd.*
Funkia alba-marginata, *Hook.*
lancifolia, *Spreng.*
grandiflora, *Sieb.*
Hemerocallis fulva, *L.*
Smilax stenopetala, *A. Gray.*
China, *L.*
(*japonica*, *A. Gray.*)
Pseudo-China, *L.*
Sieboldii, *Hassk.*
Heterosmilax japonica, *Kth.*
Caprosmanthus consanguineus, *Kth.*

DIOSCOREÆ.

Dioscorea japonica, *Thunb.*
septemloba, *Thunb.*
quinqueloba, *Thunb.*
Batatas, *Dcne. var.*

ROXBURGHIACEÆ.

Roxburghia Japonica, *Bl.*

OPHIOPOGONEÆ.

Fluggea japonica, *Rich.*
Ophiopogon spicatus, *Ker.*

MELANTHACEÆ.

Heloniopsis pauciflora, *A. Gray.*
Melanthium luteum, *Thbg.*
Helonias? japonica, *R. & S.*
Veratrum nigrum, *L.*
Rhodea japonica, *Roth.*
Aspidistra elatior, *Bl.*

JUNCEÆ.

Juncus effusus, *L.*
monticola, *Steud.*
sinensis, *Gay.*
xyphioides, *Miq.*
Luzula campestris, *L.*

ERIOCAULONEÆ.

Eriocaulon sexangulare, *L.*
Sieboldianum, *S. & Z.*

COMMELYNEÆ.

Commelyna polygama, *Roth.*
(*communis*, *L.*)

CYPERACEÆ.

Cyperus piptolepis, *Steud.*
xanthopus, *Steud.*
lævissimus, *Steud.*
(rotundus, *L.* ?)

Cyperus subulatus, *Steud.*
(rotundus, *L.*?)
microcra, *Steud.*
trachyrachis, *Steud.*
teretifructus, *Steud.*
Irio, *L.*
Mariscus umbellatus, *Vahl.*
Scirpus ciliatus, *Steud.*
(*lacustris*, *Thbg.*)
Eleocharis pileata, *A. Gray.*
Cladium japonicum, *Steud.*
Fimbristylis japonica, *Steud.*
capillacea, *Hochst.*
meliacea, *Valh.*
Goeringeana, *Steud.*
Carex bulbosa*, *Boott.*†
conica, *Boott.*
confertiflora, *Boott.*
dispalata, *Boott.*
Doniana. *Spreng.*
excisa, *Boott.*
filiformis, *L.*
Gaudichaudiana, *Kth.*
gibba, *Wahl.*
(*anomala*, *Boott.*)
heterolepis, *Bunge.*
incisa, *Boott.*
leucochlora, *Bunge.*
lanceolata, *Boott.*
longirostrata, *C. A. Mey.*
ligulata*, *Nees.*
monadelpha, *Boott.*
Morrowii, *Boott.*
macrocephala, *Willd.*
muricata, *L.*
maculata, *Boott.*
(*micans*, *Boott*).
mollicula*, *Boott.*
nana, *Boott.*
pumila, *Thbg.*
puberula, *Boott.*
pisiformis, *Boott.*
præcox, *Jacq.*
picta, *Boott.*
papulosa, *Boott.*
parciflora, *Boott.*
polyrhiza, *Wallr.*
Carex pilulifera, *L.*
pocelliformis*, *Boott.*
rigens, *Boott.*
Ringoldiana, *Boott.*
rostrata, *Muhl.*
remota, *L.*
Royleana, *Nees.*
retrorsa*, *var.*, *Schw.* ?
stipata, *Muhl.*
stellulata, *Good.*
suberea*, *Boott.*
transversa, *Boott.*
villosa, *Boott.*
vesicaria, *L.*
wahuensis, *Mey.*

GRAMINEÆ.

Ehrharta caudata, *Munro.*
Coix lacryma, *L.*
Lasiolytrum hirtum, *Steud.*
(*Phalaris hispida*, *Thbg.*)
Hierochloa borealis, *R. & S.*
Beckmannia erucæformis, *R. & S.*
Alopecurus japonicus, *Steud.*
geniculatus, *Sm.*
malacostachys, *A. Gray.*
Paspalum minutiflorum, *Steud.*
adelogæum, *Steud.*
Phalaris arundinacea, *L.*
Milium globosum, *Thbg.*
Oplismenus Burmanni, *Beauv.*
Panicum (Setaria) chondrachne, *Steud.*
Panicum (Setaria) paucisetum, *Steud.*
Panicum xanthorrhizum, *Steud.*(?)
tuberculiflorum, *Steud.*
densepilosum, *Steud.*
acroanthum, *Steud.*
lepidotum, *Steud.*
bisulcatum, *Thbg.*
Helopus globosus, *Steud.*
villosus, *Nees.*
(*Paspalum villosum*, *Thbg.*)
Pennisetum japonicum, *Trin.*
hordeiforme, *Spr.*
Gymnothrix japonica, *Kth.*

† The genus *Carex* has been elaborated by Dr. Boott. Those marked with an asterisk *after* the specific name are Corean species, which will probably also be found in Japan.

Arundinella anomala, *Steud.*
Goeringii, *Steud.*
Urachne acutigluma, *Steud.* (?)
Eccoilopus andropogonoides, *Steud.*
(*Andropogon cotuliferum? Thbg.*)
Agrostis tenuiflora, *Steud.*
Thunbergii, *Steud.*
(*ciliata, Thbg.*)
fertilis, *Steud.*
japonica, *Steud.*
valvata, *Steud.*
laxiflora, *A. Rich.*
scabra, *Willd.*
Sporobolus elongatus, *Br.*
Cinna japonica, *Steud.*
Muhlenbergia japonica, *Steud.*
Polypogon littoralis, *Sm.*
Higegameri, *Steud.*
Monspeliensis, *Desf.*
demissus, *Steud.*
Calamagrostis brachytricha, *Steud.*
Phragmites longivalvis, *Steud.*
Roxburghii, *Kth.*
japonica, *Steud.*
Oxyanthe japonica, *Steud.*
(*Arundo nitida, Thbg.*)
Leptochloa eragrostoides, *Steud.*
Eleusine indica, *Gært.*
(*japonica, Steud.*)
Trisetum flavescens, *L. var.*
cernuum, *Trin.*
Avena japonica, *Steud.*
sativa, *L.*
Poa annua, *L.*
strictula, *Steud.*
trivialis, *L.*
familiaris, *Steud.*
hirta, *Thbg.*
acroleuca, *Steud.*
psilocaulis, *Steud.*
diantha, *Steud.*
(Eragrostis) Japonica, *Thbg.*
multicaulis, *Steud.*
euchroa, *Steud.*
ferruginea, *Thbg.*
pogonia, *Steud.*
(*barbata, Thbg.*)
bulbillifera, *Steud.*
pratensis, *L.*
nemoralis, *L.*
Glyceria fluitans, *R. B.*
Glyceria spiroides, *Steud.*
ischyroneura, *Steud.*
caspia, *Trin.*
Melica nutans, *L.*
Lophatherum japonicum, *Steud.*
pilosulum, *Steud.*
Festuca parvigluma, *Steud.*
pauciflora, *Thbg.*
misera, *Thbg.*
remotiflora, *Steud.*
Thunbergii, *Kth.*
tertia, *Steud.*
rubra, *L.*
Hemibromus japonicus, *Steud.*
Bromus bifidus, *Thbg.*
racemiferus, *Steud.*
conformis, *Steud.*
villiferus, *Steud.*
japonicus, *Thbg.*
aveniformis, *Steud.*
Bambusa nigra, *Lodd.*
gracilis, *Sieb.*
aurea, (*Sieb.*)
cæsia, *S. & Z.* (*mss.*)
reticulata, *Rupr.*
ruscifolia, *S. & Z.* (*mss.*)
picta, *S. & Z.* (*mss.*)
bifolia, *S. & Z.* (*mss.*)
Arundinaria japonica, *S. & Z.*
Phyllostachys bambusioides, *S. & Z.*
megastachya, *Steud.*
Brachypodium sylvaticum, *Huds.* ?
Triticum vulgare, *L.*
semicostatum, *Nees.*
caninum, *Schreb.*
Hordeum vulgare, *L.* (*cult*).
Hordeum hexastichum, *L.* (*cult*).
Perotis latifolia, *Ait.*
Rottbœllia latifolia, *Steud.*
foliata, *Steud.*
Andropogon serratus, *Retz.*
crassipes, *Steud.*
anthephoroides, *Steud.*
stipæformis, *Steud.*
lasicoleos, *Steud.*
Iwarankusa, *Roxb.*
laxus, *Willd.*
(*serratus, Thbg.*)
dichroanthus, *Steud.*
cotuliferus, *Thbg.*
Anthistiria japonica, *Willd.*

Imperata pedicillata, *Steud.*
Saccharum obscurum, *Steud.*
Erianthus japonicus, *Beauv.*
Pogonatherum saccharoideum, *Beauv.*
Eulalia japonica, *Trin.*
Zoysia japonica, *Steud.*

FILICES.

Gleichenia dichotoma, *Hook.*
glauca, *Hook.*
Dicksonia marginalis, *Sw.*
Woodsia ilvensis, *Br.*
polystichoides, *Eat.*
Adiantium pedatum, *L.*
caudatum, *L.*
æthiopicum, *L.*
monochlamys, *Eat.*
Davallia chinensis, *Sw.*
tenuifolia, *Sw.*
rhomboidea, *Hook.*
hirsuta, *Sw.*
strigosa, *Sw.*
japonica, *Sw.*
Cyrtomium falcatum, *Presl.*
Aspidium (Lastrea) lacerum, *Sw.*
decursivo-pinnatum, *Kze.*
podophyllum, *Hook.*
erythrosorum, *Eat.*
setosum, *Sw.*
dilatatum, *Presl.*
Filix-mas, *L.*
Polystichum polyblepharon, *Roem.*
tripteron, *Kze.*
(*tripteris*, *Eat.*)
varium, *Sw.*
setosum, *Sw.*
lacerum, *Sw.*
aristatum, *Presl.*
Nephrodium parasiticum, *Presl.*
sophoroides, *Sw*
Goeringianum, *Kze.*
sporadosorum, *Kze.*
Scolopendrium vulgare, *L.*
Asplenium lanceolatum, *Huds.*
var. elegans.
davallioides, *Hook.*
incisum, *Thunb.*
japonicum, *Thb.*
Athyrium Filix-foemina, *Roth.*
fontanum, *Roehl.*
Athyrium cystopteroides, *Eat.*
crenatum Rupr. var. β.
Goeringianum, *Mett.*
Diplazium lanceum, *Presl.*
Onoclea sensibilis, *L.*
Struthiopteris orientalis, *Hook.*
Onychium japonicum, *Kze.*
Pteris cretica, *L.*
serrulata, *L.*
aquilina, *L.*
semipinnata, *L.*
sinuata, *Thb.*
Lomaria niphonica, *Kze.*
eriophlebia, *Kze.*
Blechnum Spicant, *L.*
Woodwardia radicans, *Sw.*
japonica, *Sw.*
Gymnogramme japonica, *Kze.*
serrulata, *Bl.*
Leptogramme Totta, J. *Sm.*
Drynaria hastata, *Fée.*
ensata, *Hook.*
Pleopeltis nuda, *Hook.*
elongata, *Kaulf.*
Polypodium vulgare, *L.*
Dryopteris, *L.*
punctatum, *Thb.*
ellipticum, *Thb.*
Drymoglossum piloselloides, *Presl.*
carnosum, *Hook.*
Niphobolus lingua, *Spr.*
hastatus, *Kze.*
Lygodium japonicum, *Sw.*
Botrychium ternatum, *Sw.*
Virginianum? *Sw.*
Osmunda japonica, *Thb.*
cinnamomea, *L.*
regalis, *L.*
lancea, *Thunb.*
Ophioglossum vulgatum, *L.*
Equisetum arvense, *L.*
virgatum, *Bl.*
Marsilea quadrifolia, *L.*
Lycopodium lucidulum, *Mx.*
serratum, *Thb.*
selago, *L.*
japonicum, *Thb.*
phlegmaria, *L.*
clavatum, *L.*
Selaginella involvens, *Spring.*
ornithopodoides, *Spring.*

While this sheet is in the press we have received part of the 4th volume of the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, containing notices of the Cryptogamous plants gathered in the late American expeditions to Japan, the *Fungi* by Messrs. Berkeley and Curtis, the *Musci* by Messrs. Sullivant and Lesquereux, and the *Algæ* by Dr. Harvey. The species mentioned in these papers we have here added, although they must be a very fragmentary portion of the cryptogamic flora of the island. In the list of Mosses those found in the Loo Choo Islands, and also those gathered by the American expedition on the mainland, are incorporated. No account of the Lichens has as yet appeared:—

Musci.

Sphagnum squarrosum, *Hornsch.*
Phascum crispatum, *Sull.*
Weissia viridula, *Brid.*
Rhabdoweisia fugax, *Br. & Sch.*
Dicranella crenata (*Sull.*)
obscura, *Sull. & Lesq.*
Dicranum scoparium, *Sull.*
Trematodon longicollis, *Hsch.*
Leucobryum glaucum (*Sull.*)
Boninense, *Sull. & Lesq.*
Trichostomum pallidum, *Brid.*
inflexum, *Bruch.*
Barbula unguiculata, *Hedw.*
Ceratodon purpureus, *Bird.*
Eustichium Norvegicum, *Brid.*
Orthotrichum fastigiatum, *Burch.*
japonicum, *Sull. & Lesq.*
Hedwigia ciliata, *Ehrh.*
Entosthodon acuminatum (*Sull.*)
ericetorum, *C. Muell.*
Bryum pyriforme, *Hedw.*
nutans, *Hook.*
torquescens, *Br. & Sch.*
pallescens, *Br. & Sch.*
megalodictyon, *Sull. & Lesq.*
Mnium punctatum, *Hedw.*
trichomanoides, *Mitt.*
flagellare, *Sull. & Lesq.*
radiatum, *Wils.*
Bartramia pomiformis, *Wahl.*
Bartramia fontana? *Schw.*
Atrichum angustatum, *Br. & Sch*
Pogonatum aloides, *Brid.*
tortile, *Sw*
alpinum, *Brid.*
japonicum, *Sull. & Lesq.*
Polytrichum juniperinum, *Hedw.*
commune, *L.*
Hypnum scitum, *P. B.*
minutulum, *Hedw.*
starkii, *Bird.*
crassinervium, *Tayl.*
populeum, *Hook.*
salebrosum, *H. & T.*
velutinum, *L.*
rutabulum, *H. & W.*
serpens, *Hook.*
adnatum, *Hedw.*
denticulatum, *L.*
serrulatum, *Bird.*
microcarpum, *Hsch.*
brevirostre, *Bird.*
triquetrum, *L.*
splendens, *Hedw.*
Oakesii, *Sull.*
pratense, *Koch.*
Haldanianum, *Grev.*
cupressiforme, *L.*
polymorphum.
cuspidatum, *L.*
assurgens, *Sull. & Lesq.*

Hypnum dispersum, *Sull. & Lesq.*
oblongifolium, *Sull. & Lesq.*
simodense, *Sull. & Lesq.*
macrostegium, *Sull. & Lesq.*
flaccidum, *Sull. & Lesq.*
spinulosum, *Sull. & Lesq.*
thelidictyon, *Sull. & Lesq.*
pohliæcarpum, *Sull. & Lesq.*
erectiusculum, *Sull. & Lesq.*
Rodgersianum, *Sull. & Lesq.*
eximium, *Sull. & Lesq.*
Smallii, *Sull. & Lesq.*
gracile, *Br. & Sch.*
Fissidens laxus, *Sull. & Lesq.*
incrassatus, *Sull. & Lesq.*
pungens, *Lesq. & Sull.*
Ptychomitrium Wilsoni, *Sull. & Lesq.*
Macromitrium insulare, *Sull. & Lesq.*
gymnostomum, *Sull. & Lesq.*

ALGÆ.

Sargassum filicinum, *Harv.*
Ringgoldianum, *Harv.*
Rodgersianum, *Harv.*
siliquastrum, *Ag. var.*
corynecarpum, *Harv.*
Cystophyllum fusiforme, *Harv. var.* β clavigerum.
Fucus Wrightii, *Harv.*
Babingtonii, *Harv.*
Ecklonia Wrightii, *Harv.*
Alaria pinnatifida, *Harv.*
Costaria Turneri, *Grev. var.* pertusa.
Odonthalia obtusangula, *Harv.*
Desmarestia viridis, *Lamour.*
Chorda lomentaria, *Lyngb.*
Chordaria simplex, *Harv.*
Rhytiphlæa complanata, *Ag. var.?* latiuscula, *Harv.*
Chondria crassicaulis, *Harv.*
atropurpurea, *Harv.*
Polysiphonia Morrowii, *Harv.*
japonica, *Harv.*
Stimpsoni, *Harv.*
calacantha, *Harv.*
flabellulata, *Harv.*
Laurencia virgata, *Ag. var.?*
Lomentaria catenata, *Harv.*
Amphiroa californica, *Dcne.?*
Delesseria serrulata, *Harv.*
Gelidium cartilagenium, *Gcev.*
corneum, *Lamour.*
Wrangelia ? Tanegana, *Harv.*
Desmia japonica, *Harv.*
Gracilaria gigas, *Harv.*
Suhria japonica, *Harv.*
Halosaceion japonicum, *Harv.*
Wrightii, *Harv.*
Gymnogongyrus furcellatus, *Ag.*
flabelliformis, *Harv.*
pinnulatus, *Harv.*
lingulatus, *var.* angustatus.
Gigartina lancifolia, *Harv.*
affinis, *Harv.*
Cystoclonium armatum, *Harv*
Nemastoma livida, *Harv.*
Gloiosiphonia capillaris, *Carm.*
Ceramium rubrum, *Auct.*
Gloiopeltis coliformis, *Harv.*
Endocladia complanata, *Harv.*
Caulerpa brachypus, *Harv.*
Cladophora Wrightiana, *Harv.*
Stimpsonii, *Harv.*
densa, *Harv.*

FUNGI.

Agaricus adianticeps, *Berk. & Curt.*
stellulatus, *Berk. & Curt.*
japonicus, *Berk. & Curt.*
porphyrophyllus, *Berk. & Curt.*
Bolbitius Oryzae, *Berk. & Curt.*
Cortinarius Wrightii, *Berk. & Curt.*
Lactarius lividatus, *Berk. & Curt.*
Marasmius cremoriceps, *Berk. & Curt.*
galeatus, *Berk. & Curt.*
acicola, *Berk. & Curt.*
Lenzites japonica, *Berk. & Curt.*
Boletus rhodomyces, *Berk. & Curt.*
Polyporus (Mesopus) ochrotinctus, *Berk. & Curt.*
Hydnum (Mesopus) Wrightii, *Berk. & Curt.*

Stereum subcruentatum, *Berk. & Curt.*
Lycoperdon plicatum, *Berk. & Curt.*
Uromyces japonica, *Berk. & Curt.*
Helicoma fasciculatum, *Berk. & Curt.*
Peziza japonica, *Berk. & Curt.*
Peziza lepida, *Berk. & Curt.*
porphyra, *Berk. & Curt.*
leucophæa, *Berk. & Curt.*
Asterina sepulta, *Berk. & Curt.*
Meliola dichotoma, *Berk. & Curt.*
Cystotheca Wrightii, *Berk. & Curt.*

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